

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Congress votes new CIA cover-up

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Viva Puerto Rico libre!

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BLACK STUDENT CONFERENCE PLANNED: On February 17-22, the African American Society at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts, will host a National Black Student Solidarity Conference. "We, as a people, are facing a crisis of historic proportions," states the conference call. The purpose of the conference will be to discuss "the critical issues threatening" Black people and "a national strategy to effectively deal with these issues."

One central issue for discussion will be the "dramatic cutbacks in scholarships and financial aid, plus inflated tuition costs" that have meant "dramatic decreases in Black enrollment."

Conference organizers view the event as "a call for action to all Black students in colleges and universities across this nation." Special conference participants will include Queen Mother Moore, Dr. John Clarke, Rev. Charles Koen, and Robert F. Williams.

BLACK UNIONIST SUES ANTIBUSING OFFICIALS: JoAnn Green, a member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 in Louisville, is filing suit against union officials. The Black General Electric worker is charging the local's leadership with spending more than \$15,000 of the union's money for antibusing activities. Green and other Black unionists want the officials to pay back every cent to the union. Spending money to oppose busing, Green said, is "against the interest of the union and its racial minority membership."

This week Militant staff writer Andy Rose begins a new column on the economic crisis of the capitalist system (see page 11). The column will appear about twice a month.

DESSIE X WOODS AND CHERYL TODD CONVICTED: A Hawkinsville, Georgia, jury handed down guilty verdicts for Dessie X Woods and Cheryl Todd on February 2. The two Black women were accused of murder and armed robbery in connection with the death of Ronnie Horne, a white salesman, who was shot with his own gun last June. Evidence for the defense demonstrated that the women acted in self-defense after Horne picked them up and tried to sexually assault them.

The jury convicted Woods of voluntary manslaughter and armed robbery. Todd was convicted of being an accomplice in the theft of money missing from Horne's wallet after the incident.

Randy Bacote, lawyer for Woods, called the verdict "outrageous and unbelievable." He said that the state had failed to prove "that Ms. Woods did not act in self-defense," and the verdicts were legally inconsistent. Defense attorneys plan to file motions to set aside the verdict and acquit the victims on the grounds of lack of evidence.

HAMPTON-CLARK JURY SELECTED: After three weeks, a jury has been chosen in the multi-million-dollar Chicago civil suit brought by the families of slain Black Panther leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. The last juror selected is sixty-three-year-old Sally Jones, the only Black jury member.

The suit will attempt to prove that officials from the state, local, and federal agencies conspired in the predawn assassination of Hampton and Clark on December 4, 1969. Defendants include former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who commanded the early-morning raiders; Marlin Johnson, head of the Chicago FBI at the time of the raid; and William O'Neal, a Black FBI informer.

Opening arguments in the trial were delayed so that the Hampton-Clark attorneys could look at new government documents handed over to them by the judge in a reversal of an earlier decision. The thirty-three documents are from the FBI's Cointelpro files.

'TOMB OF UNBORN CHILD' GETS SURPRISE: In Milwaukee, on January 22, fifty women's rights supporters celebrated the third anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion by confronting Save Our Unwanted Lives (SOUL). The anti-abortion group had planned demonstrations at two abortion clinics. When they arrived at the first clinic, they were met by abortion-rights demonstrators chanting, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate!" and "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide!"

When SOUL's "Tomb of the Unborn Child" casket march left for the Summit Medical Center, the abortion supporters jumped into cars and reassembled at the center to "greet" the surprised right-to-lifers once again.

Abortion-rights demonstrators included members of the Women's Coalition, the University of Wisconsin Feminist Center, Young Socialist Alliance, Wisconsin Veterans Union, Youth Against War and Fascism, and the Socialist Workers party.

SHAH EXECUTES TEN: The January 23 *Militant* reported that ten Iranian political prisoners had been condemned to death. On January 24, nine were executed. One was the first woman political prisoner to face the shah's firing squad. The ten dissidents were tortured into "confessing" their membership in an urban guerrilla group.

The swift execution of the sentences cut short an international effort to save their lives. The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) is urging protests of these executions and a sustained international campaign to demand freedom for all Iranian political prisoners. CAIFI is sponsoring a protest meeting at Columbia University in New York on February 7. Among the speakers will be Ramsey Clark; Reza Baraheni, an Iranian poet and former political prisoner; playwright Eric Bentley; and Ivan Morris, chairman of the U.S. Board of Amnesty International. For more information contact: CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

NSCAR LEADERS PUBLISH ARTICLE IN 'BLACK SCHOLAR': National Student Coalition Against Racism coordinator Joette Chancy and former NSCAR staff member Brenda Franklin are the authors of "Report from Boston: The Struggle for Desegregation," published in the December issue of the *Black Scholar* magazine.

The article traces the history of the struggle for school desegregation in Boston from the mid-1800s to today's headlines, and analyzes the national importance of the confrontation over busing for the Black community.

This issue of the *Black Scholar* can be obtained for \$1.50 from: The *Black Scholar*, Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965.

MADISON TEACHERS RETURN WITH CONTRACT:

The first teachers' strike in Madison, Wisconsin, history ended January 19. The Madison Teachers, Inc. ratified a new contract after their two week strike forced the school board to buckle on many demands it had fought for seven months. The 1,900 teachers won a pay increase, full payment on medical insurance premiums, increased planning time for classes, and a guarantee of no recriminations against strikers. However, the teachers were unable to win a limitation on class size.

Solidarity with striking substitute teachers helped their union win a tentative settlement on a first contract. Other unions supported both groups of teachers. Labor and community solidarity included two rallies of 1,000 each.

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

The Equal Rights Amendment still isn't law, and its supporters around the country are stepping up a campaign to get it passed. Keep up with the latest developments in the drive to ratify the ERA by reading the *Militant* every week. Subscribe now.

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Congress covers up CIA crimes

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Congress has voted its official stamp of approval to keeping the government's criminal activities secret from the American people.

In a 246-124 vote on January 29, the House of Representatives prohibited release of its own intelligence committee's final report until the document has been censored by President Ford.

One hundred twenty-seven Democrats—the majority of the Democrats voting—joined with 119 Republicans to suppress the report.

White House aides have already indicated they will delete "more than half" of the 338-page document before releasing it.

The head of the House Intelligence Committee, Democrat Otis Pike of New York, complained that the vote made "a complete travesty of the whole doctrine of separation of powers."

But Pike's assertion made a complete travesty of logic, since it was Congress itself that voted to uphold the cloak of secrecy around the CIA's crimes.

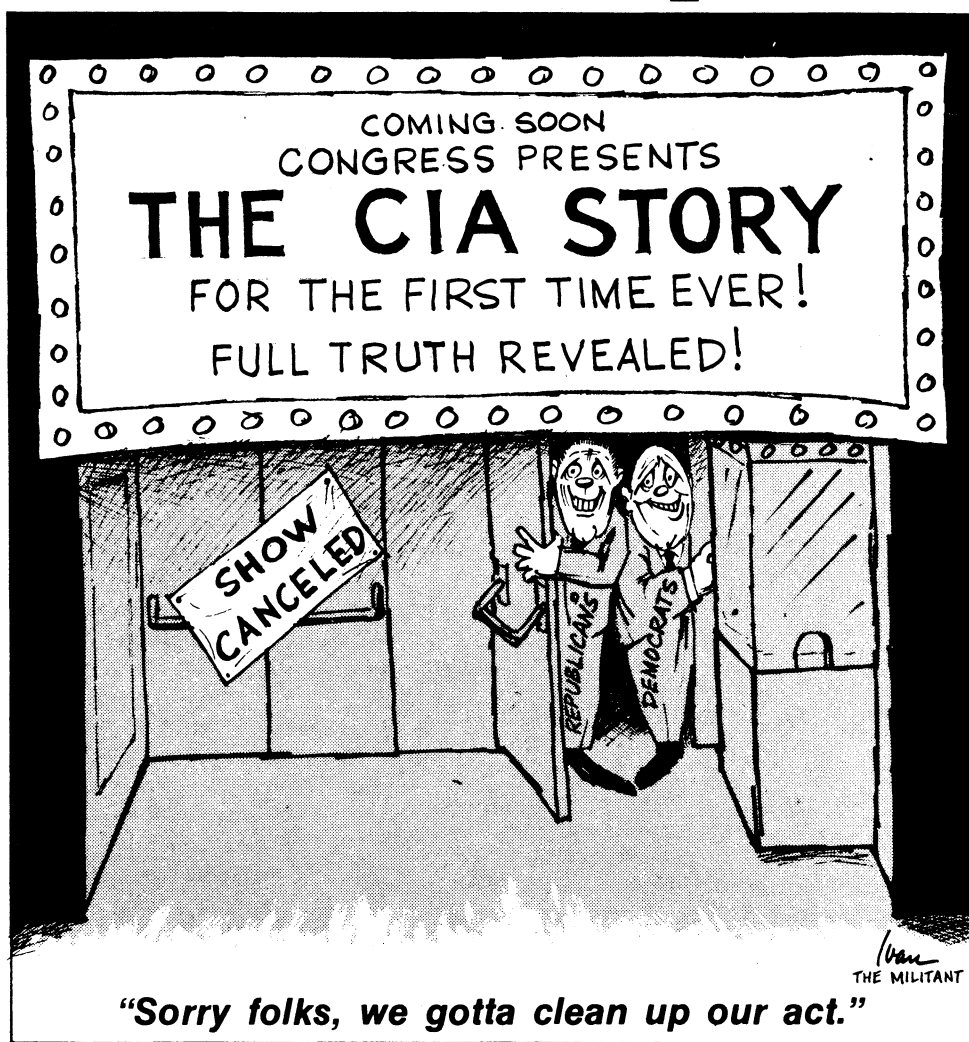
In fact, the House vote exposed as a sham and a fraud the whole debate about the "separation of powers" and restoring Congress as a "co-equal branch" with the White House.

CIA murders, coups, payoffs, and intrigues at home and abroad—and their concealment from the American people—are the policy of both the Democratic and Republican parties. They are the policy of all branches of the government.

The U.S. government must employ these methods because it serves the interests of a tiny minority—the American capitalist class, whose wealth comes from the exploitation of working people at home and the plunder of the worldwide empire under its control. And it must hide its real motives and methods behind a wall of secrecy and lies.

The Pike committee report was the culmination of a year-long inquiry into the crimes of the CIA, FBI, and other government spy agencies. It was scheduled for public release on January 30, and thousands of copies had already been printed.

A few days after the draft became



available to the administration, the *New York Times*, followed by other papers and news services, began a series of articles disclosing the contents of the yet-unpublished report.

According to these accounts, the following were highlights of the document:

- Over the past ten years nearly one-third of the CIA's covert activities involved payoffs to foreign politicians and government leaders.

- The CIA has a worldwide news media network to manipulate news reporting and to provide cover for its spies.

- The United States systematically undervalued military equipment to Angola, thereby jacking up military

aid to at least twice the amount the administration admits to.

- The total cost of the U.S. spy agencies is \$10 billion a year, three or four times the amount listed in the annual defense-appropriations bill.

- Sen. Henry Jackson, the Democratic presidential contender from Washington, secretly devised a plan in 1973 for the CIA to avoid testifying before a Senate committee investigating covert activities in Chile.

These news leaks brought on an avalanche of remonstrations from the CIA and the White House. Outgoing CIA chief William Colby denounced the report as "totally biased and a disservice to our nation."

Both A. Searle Field, staff director

for the intelligence committee, and Pike emphatically denied that the leaks had come from their committee. They hinted that the White House or the CIA might have arranged the leaks themselves to bolster their "Congress can't keep secrets" campaign.

Those members of Congress who argued for releasing the report over White House objections emphasized that the cat was mostly out of the bag anyway. Virtually everything that was of importance "interest-wise or titillation-wise" had already been published, Pike said.

More to the point, he promised that there was "not the slightest question that we are giving away any dangerous secrets."

Pike's associates on the intelligence committee were no less fervent in their vows that they had kept the really bad stuff under wraps. During the floor debate, Rep. Robert Giaimo (D-Conn.) pointed his finger dramatically at Pike and declared, "If you think he is going to release anything that in his judgment would jeopardize the secrets of the United States, then you are wrong."

Pike and Giaimo were, of course, correct. At least in the sense that their report barely lifted a corner of the curtain on the sordid tale of CIA and FBI intrigues, past and present.

White House assertions that release of the report would benefit "foreign agents" were patently absurd. As Rep. James Johnson (R-Colo.), apparently siezed by a sudden fit of honesty, pointed out:

"The Cambodians knew they were being bombed. Castro knew we were trying to kill him. We just kept it a secret from the American people, in whose names these operations were being conducted for their alleged security."

Uncovering the truth was never the committee's purpose. Faced with growing public opposition to the government's antidemocratic machinations, and demands for full disclosure of CIA and FBI crimes, Congress set out to restore what it could of the tattered credibility and moral authority of the

Continued on page 26

New Orleans socialists harassed by Klan

By Craig Gannon

NEW ORLEANS—The opening of the Pathfinder Bookstore and the New Orleans headquarters of the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign on February 1 here was picketed by a uniformed gang of Ku Klux Klan members chanting racist and anti-Semitic slogans.

Evelyn Reed, noted Marxist and feminist author, who was the featured speaker at the opening, was singled out by the racists as a target of harassment. Reed was concluding a three-day speaking tour of New Orleans.

Ten minutes before the scheduled 2:00 p.m. opening of the bookstore, about half a dozen plainclothes New Orleans police arrived, laden with cameras.

The cops stayed throughout the day's events, carrying out their own flagrant attempt to harass bookstore visitors by photographing everyone who entered and left.

At two o'clock, thirty Klan members and supporters arrived. About half of them began picketing directly in front of the bookstore.

Six were in uniform: black pants, black shirt, and black tie, with the KKK symbol of a black cross in a red circle on their sleeves.

The racists carried a large American

flag and signs such as "Down with Jewish Communist Bookstore" and "Ship the Blacks Back." They also carried campaign signs for David Duke, national director of the Klan, who recently announced a bid for state senate.

For the next hour and a half, the Klan pickets and supporters chanted such slogans as "Down with communist pigs like Evelyn Reed," "Eight-six-four-two; go home jigaboo; send the Jew to Africa too," and "Hitler had the

right idea: kill the niggers and the Jews."

The racist picket line in front of the bookstore, which is adjacent to a predominantly Black community, attracted an angry crowd of fifty, mostly Black youth.

"What right do they have to come into a Black neighborhood?" one young Black man demanded of a cop standing by the Klan pickets.

The crowd, which gathered across the street, began shouting, "The KKK

has to go!" and "Black power!" in response to the Klan's shouts of "White power."

The crowd was later joined by members of the local "Fight Back Committee," including members of the Maoist October League, and then marched for a couple of blocks through the community, chanting and looking for support.

In addition to those who had already planned to attend the opening celebration, a number of residents of the surrounding community crossed through the picket line and entered the bookstore to show their contempt for the racist harassment.

When Evelyn Reed walked through the picket line she was greeted with shouts of "Down with Evelyn Reed" by the Klan. Reed promptly took a copy of her book *Woman's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* and, standing in the doorway, held it up for the crowd to see what had aroused the Klan's anger.

Fifty people attended the program of speakers at the opening. Many more came in throughout the day to browse through the bookstore.

The local affiliate of ABC-TV later broadcast a statement by Morris Chertov, representing Pathfinder Bookstore. Asked whether the Klan would intimidate the bookstore from operating, Chertov replied, "Hell, no!"



Militant/Greg Nelson

Racists picket opening of socialist bookstore and campaign offices. At far right, New Orleans plainclothes cop contributes own brand of harassment.

Imperialists debate how best to protect foothold in Angola

By Steve Clark

From Intercontinental Press

During the last week of January, as the tide in Angola's civil war continued to shift toward the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), politicians and diplomats in capitals around the world scurried to reassess their policies in light of the changing military situation.

The White House, under election-year pressure from the Republican party's right wing, is desperately trying to pin the failure of its Angola objectives on Congress. In a letter to Carl Albert, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Gerald Ford dredged up cold-war rhetoric that would almost embarrass his conservative rival, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan.

"I believe that resistance to Soviet expansion by military means must be a fundamental element of United States foreign policy," he said. The occasion for Ford's letter was the January 27 vote in the House on the so-called Tunney amendment to the defense appropriations bill. The amendment, passed in the Senate last December, bars the use of Defense Department funds for "any activities in Angola other than intelligence gathering."

Despite the White House plea, the Tunney amendment passed by a resounding 323-to-99 vote, including a majority of House Republicans.

Two days later Secretary of State Kissinger, testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, commented on this partial fund cutoff. Angola represents "the first time that the U.S. has failed to respond to Soviet military moves outside their immediate orbit," he said. "And it is the first time that Congress has halted the Executive's action while it was in the process of meeting this kind of threat."

Later in the same testimony, Kissinger said that having failed to gain congressional approval for "covert" aid, "the Administration is now considering overt financial aid and we will soon be consulting with Congress on this possibility."

Impact of Vietnam, Watergate

Kissinger is aware that his worst problem is the impact on the American people of the Vietnam experience, which has been reinforced since 1973 by Watergate and the unraveling skein of CIA and FBI crimes. At the Senate hearings, Kissinger complained that the Soviet Union and Cuba have attempted "to take advantage of our continuing domestic division and self-torment." He implored the American people to recognize that "the time has come to put aside self-accusation, division, and guilt."

Washington had hoped to gain a firm foothold for U.S. imperialism in Angola when the civil war broke out there last year between the MPLA and two rival nationalist organizations—the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

In supporting the UNITA and the FNLA, Ford and Kissinger sought to reach a military stalemate that would permit the White House to offer a plausible "compromise solution"—a weak coalition regime dependent on imperialism.

That plan has now been stymied. South Africa, unwilling or unable to



CIA helps finance mercenaries for Angolan war, like these pictured dashing to their plane in London.

carry the imperialists' burden by itself, has withdrawn from the battlefronts of central Angola to positions along the Namibian border, where its own reactionary interests are most directly at stake.

As long as full-scale American or South African intervention is ruled out by these factors, Kissinger must look elsewhere to salvage the situation. The January 29 edition of the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* indicated that the Kremlin might be willing to lend a helping hand.

The *Izvestia* article blamed the UNITA and the FNLA for provoking the current civil war, but added in a conciliatory tone, "The Soviet Union comes out for peace in Angola. It has never come out against a quest for a political settlement in Angola."

Imperialist intrigues

Of course, this in no way spells the end of imperialist intrigues and intervention in Angola. No one lends any credence to the Central Intelligence Agency's disavowal of involvement there, especially in light of continuing reports of the recruitment of mercenaries in Europe and the United States. South African troops are still poised inside Angola along its southern border, giving every indication that Pretoria intends to keep them there until its interests are firmly guaranteed.

The *Izvestia* article, nonetheless, bolstered those sections of America's ruling circles who are eager to correct what they believe to be a disastrous Angola policy from the standpoint of U.S. economic and political interests.

Many top Washington politicians, State Department officials, and business interests recognized very early in the Angolan civil war that from a bourgeois standpoint the differences among the three groups are not decisive, particularly with regard to their attitudes toward imperialist investments in Angola.

Many also held the opinion that among the three groups the MPLA was the most likely victor, and recent events have deepened their conviction on this score.

On January 25 Mark Moran, an aide to California Senator John Tunney, completed a week-long stay in Luanda, where he met with many top MPLA leaders. "My impression is that there are several positions in the M.P.L.A.,"

he said, "and that the moderates are in a bit of a quandary over what they recognize as the need for eventual U.S. economic and financial assistance. They need a softening of Washington's position to legitimize their own standing in the movement."

Moran continued, "... the people I spoke with went to great lengths to indicate that their position was not against the multinational companies, which they felt should operate here in a mutually profitable arrangement with the Government."

Moran also brought back a memorandum that MPLA leaders say was presented to an MPLA representative in Washington, D.C., by T.A. Wilson, chairman of the board of Boeing Aircraft Company, on the instructions of the U.S. State Department. The MPLA official had come to Washington to consult with Wilson about the State Department's decision to block the sale of two Boeing 737 aircraft to the Luanda-based group.

According to Tunney, who released the memorandum January 28, it implied threat of further economic sanctions similar to the Boeing incident was viewed by MPLA leaders as a "virtual ultimatum that slammed the door on further discussions or a possible rapprochement with our country."

Shortly after the memorandum was issued, the State Department pressured Gulf Oil Company to suspend its operations in Angola's Cabinda oil fields, which are located in MPLA-held territory. It also ordered Gulf to suspend all tax and royalty payments to the Luanda government.

The Gulf operation in Cabinda was far and away the largest U.S. investment in Angola. At the same time, it was the MPLA's largest single source of revenue, paying the group \$116 million last September and October with millions more scheduled.

Overtures from Luanda

Luanda is eager to provide ammunition to critics of Ford and Kissinger's policies. In an interview with several British and American journalists January 31, MPLA leader Lopo do Nascimento said that Luanda was trying to "sensitize American public opinion through the press and through infrequent contact with U.S. legislators and their staffs."

He charged that Washington has declared an economic war against the MPLA. "It was not us who caused

problems with the American companies in Angola," he said.

To allay fears in Washington of "Soviet domination," Luis de Almeida, another MPLA leader, stressed in an earlier interview that the constitution of the Luanda government specifically states that "the republic will not join any international military organization or allow any foreign power to establish bases on its territory."

The MPLA's efforts to convince American politicians and business officials of its willingness to cooperate with imperialist interests has scored some notable successes. Senator Dick Clark, head of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, stated his view of the group in opening remarks before Kissinger's January 29 testimony.

"After 500 years of colonial rule and more than a decade of liberation struggle," Clark said, "it is unlikely that a new government in Angola will give up its hard-fought freedom to become a Soviet satellite."

"Washington should be laying out lines to the MPLA with a view to strengthening the hands of its moderate factions," the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* advised January 27. "It is not a foregone conclusion that this Marxist-oriented group will impose a Soviet-style regime on the country. . . ."

"In view of the involvement of American oil companies in Angola, the U.S. certainly is not without political leverage in seeking a moderate course by the MPLA. . . ."

Most European capitals are taking a "wait-and-see" stance toward the Angolan groups, according to a dispatch from London by Associated Press correspondent Richard Blystone. "Although Portugal, West Germany, Belgium, and Britain—and to a lesser extent other European countries—have economic stakes in Angola's oil, agriculture, and mineral industries," he said, "analysts point out that they do not necessarily stand to lose everything with an MPLA victory." (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 28.)

Washington eyes riches

Whatever tactical differences have developed in Washington, American imperialism still has its eyes fixed firmly on Angola's oil, coffee, diamonds, and other resources. The same can be said for the South African and European imperialist powers.

It remains to be seen exactly what Washington will do next, given the recent developments in the civil war between the contending liberation groups. But one thing can be said for sure. The need to raise the slogan "Hands off Angola!" is just as pressing today as it has ever been.



KISSINGER: Urges Americans 'to put aside self-accusation, division and guilt.'

'Spanish democracy': more Francoism

[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

By David Frankel

After more than two months of delay and vague promises of change, the regime of King Juan Carlos I finally came out January 28 with its program for what it called a "Spanish democracy." It was a blueprint for changes that Franco himself "might have desired" were he still alive, Premier Carlos Arias told the Cortes (parliament), which applauded the mention of the late fascist dictator.

The speech was an insult thrown in the face of the masses.

Arias, the longtime functionary of a regime that established itself with the help of Hitler and Mussolini and savagely repressed all opposition for nearly four decades, took it upon himself to warn the masses against totalitarian dictatorship. There will be no legality, he announced, for those "who aspire, with outside help and with unscrupulous methods, to establish totalitarian Communism and the dictatorship of a party."

The Francoist thug talked about tax reform, but he refused to give any guarantees concerning the right to demonstrate.

The demand for amnesty, heard in every corner of the Spanish state, was passed over with the promise of a few additions to the phony pardon announced by Juan Carlos in November.

The right to strike and the right to form trade unions independent of the state apparatus were not mentioned by Arias. He described the strikes and labor demonstrations that have hit every important city in Spain as "a maneuver" against the government.

Arias also made clear that the "Spanish democracy" he was talking about did not include allowing the oppressed nationalities such as the Basques and Catalans to exercise their right to self-determination. Those who advocated separatism, he said, would not be allowed legality. Even the



Premier Carlos Arias (center) listens as King Juan Carlos (right) presides over cabinet meeting. 'Spanish democracy' announced by regime does not include right to strike, to form unions, or to elect government.

limited autonomy enjoyed by the Basques and Catalans under the old Spanish Republic of the 1930s was ruled out.

Franco's appointees were incapable of offering the peoples of Spain a single genuine step toward democracy. Even in the case of its biggest concession—a two-chamber parliament that would supposedly be "representative"—the regime took away with one hand what it offered with the other.

In a display that summed up the character of the government's "democratization," Arias did not say whether the lower house would be elected by popular vote. In any case, the upper house will definitely not be elected, and it will have equal power, thus giving it a veto over all decisions.

Furthermore, Arias said that the upper house will be composed of the 109-member National Council—an integral part of the fascist structure established by Franco. Thirty-nine of

the council's members were appointed by Franco to serve permanently until the age of seventy-five. The others are elected through the bureaucracy of the fascist National Movement.

The regime was encouraged in its brazen disregard of the demands of the masses by two factors: its success in weathering the massive wave of strikes that shook the country in January, and the signing of its new treaty with Washington on January 24.

"The Spanish Government entered an important political week today with what was considered well-timed support from the United States," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported in a January 25 dispatch from Madrid. Kissinger, who signed the accord, commended the "hopeful political evolution" presided over by the monarchy.

According to the British financial weekly the *Economist*, during his visit Kissinger urged the Spanish regime

not to legalize the Communist party. Stating its own view on democratization, the *Economist* said in the lead article in its January 31 issue that "the real argument against delay is that it might provoke an impatience in Spain that then gets out of hand. . . ."

This fear was uppermost in the minds of other capitalist commentators. The editors of the *New York Times* said February 2, "The program for liberalization presented by Mr. Arias to Parliament and country is so vague and so limited as to raise serious doubts among Spanish moderates that a peaceful evolution to a freer society will be possible."

An opinion column in the January 29 *London Times* stated, "The people at large, who have waited so long and so patiently for an end to the dictatorship, can hardly be expected to abandon without a struggle all the hopes raised by Franco's death."

Giniger described the problem facing Franco's appointed heirs in more vivid terms in a January 18 dispatch from Madrid. He said, "... Spain's first Government of the post-Franco era is having to contend with a vast psychological change that has come over workers, journalists, politicians, priests, housewives and labor leaders. People are striking, marching, assembling, sounding off against the Government and in general shedding the inhibitions fostered by 40 years of authoritarian rule."

This ferment is what the capitalist rulers fear. They are doing their best to hobble it and to blunt the drive of the masses for democracy. They know that the struggle for political rights cannot be separated from the use of those rights to advance the social and economic demands of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

The Spanish regime has given its answer to the demands of the masses in the miserably restrictive plan outlined by Arias. But the striking, marching, assembling, and sounding off against the government has just begun.

Cleveland students vote: 'Stay out of Angola!'

By a two-to-one margin in an election at Cleveland State University, the student body passed a referendum against U.S. intervention in Angola, *Militant* correspondent Dave Hurst reports. The referendum was placed on the ballot for the January 21-22 election by the campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The motion approved by students stated: "All U.S. military and economic intervention into the affairs of Angola should be immediately and unconditionally ended."

A highlight of the campaign for the referendum was a January 14 meeting for Tony Thomas, a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee who has been on a nationwide speaking tour to urge opposition to U.S. meddling in Angola. Forty students attended the meeting.

During the discussion after Thomas's talk, Lauren Sugerman, one of the YSA's candidates for student senate, singled out the importance of the Angola referendum. "This is the first referendum of its kind in the country," she said, "and the vote here will serve as an indicator to the government that antiwar sentiment still exists on the campuses."

In addition to the overwhelming vote for the referendum, another sign of the antiwar mood on campus was the election to the student senate of YSA member Brad Kahn and several other students who took stands against intervention.

Widespread student opposition to the U.S. war drive was also reflected by the attendance of 275 people at a January 26 teach-in at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

Militant correspondent Jack Fenton reports that the consensus at the teach-in was that Angolans should have the right to decide for themselves the type of government they wish to have.

Speakers included Gerald Bender, a professor of history from the University of California at Los Angeles; Allen Isaacman, a professor of history at the University of Minnesota; and Tony Thomas. August Nimtz, professor of political science at the university, chaired the event.

Among the groups sponsoring the meeting were the campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, the African Studies Council, the department of political science, the history department, and the Coffman Memorial Union Program Council.

Bender said the CIA has become "internationally notorious for masterminding the overthrow of legitimate foreign governments." He urged Americans to "protest the CIA's role in the current civil war that has engulfed Angola."

Thomas focused much of his talk on the origins of the civil war. He said that although there were differences among many groups on the roles of the different Angolan groups involved in the conflict, the main danger to Angolan liberation does not come from one

or another of these groups. The real danger is from the U.S. and South African governments, which want to turn Angola into another Vietnam.

"We must not sit by unconcerned," Thomas said. He urged that more teach-ins and protests be organized to educate people about the danger of another Vietnam.

Thomas also spoke to forty students at a Metropolitan State College meeting in Denver, January 27. The next night he spoke to sixty students at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

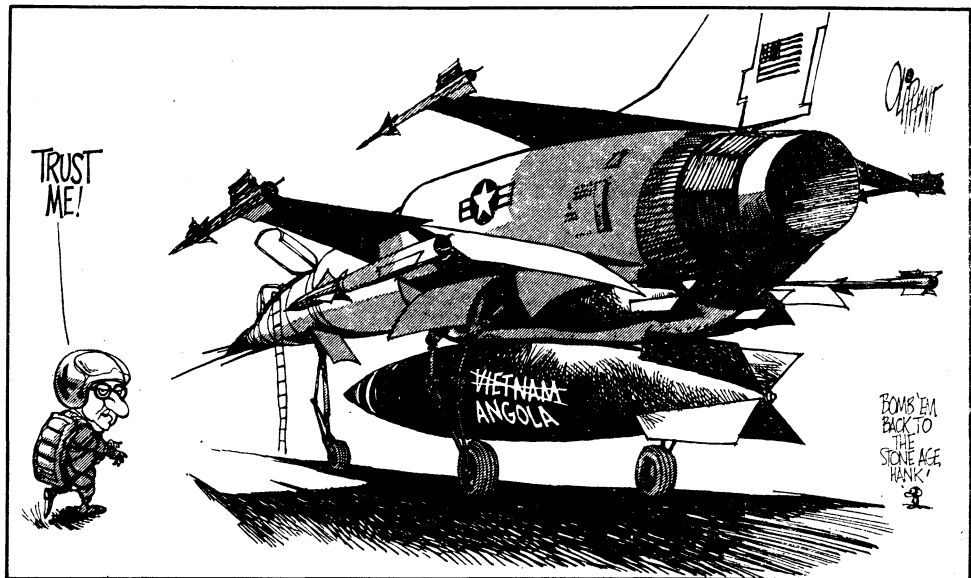
After the Colorado meetings, Thomas traveled to San Diego, where he addressed a January 30 meeting sponsored by the Militant Forum.

Further protests and educational activities around Angola will be held in coming weeks.

Demonstrations have been scheduled for February 7 in Denver, Chicago, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia.

Forums and other activities for Thomas are being planned in Detroit, Milwaukee, and Seattle. Thomas also plans to visit three cities in Canada—Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver—as part of his tour.

Socialist Workers party leader Malik Miah has also gone out on tour speaking against U.S. intervention in Angola. Miah is scheduled to appear in Boston, Philadelphia, New York City, Washington, Baltimore, and Atlanta.



Racist protests fail to block Detroit busing

By John Hawkins

DETROIT—On January 26, with the beginning of the second semester of school, court-ordered busing for the purpose of desegregation became a fact of life in Detroit.

Under a plan approved by U.S. District Court Judge Robert DeMascio, 21,583 students will be bused to new schools. The plan also calls for 30,000 more students to change schools—some as part of the desegregation plan, some as part of a reorganization of the school system's grade structure.

The plan provides for minimal desegregation. Of the 247,000 students enrolled in Detroit public schools, less than 10 percent will be bused for that purpose. Of the 149 schools with more than 90 percent Black enrollment before the plan went into effect, only 15 will be affected.

However, despite the minimal nature of the plan, antidesegregation forces have continued their campaign to discredit and impede its implementation.

On January 22, four days before busing was to begin, 100 antibusing demonstrators picketed the Federal Building and demanded entrance to the offices of DeMascio. Turned away from the judge's offices, they proceeded to picket Cobo Hall, where Mayor Coleman Young was delivering his state of the city address.

On January 25, an antibusing motorcade, which drew 250 cars from three

areas of the city, gathered at the City County Building downtown. Signs on the cars read: "Busing is Child Abuse," "Paul Revere Never Rode a Bus," and "Bus DeMascio to the N.J. Dump."

The antibusing protests were spearheaded by Mothers Alert Detroit (MAD), which is based in the lily-white Northeast side of Detroit.

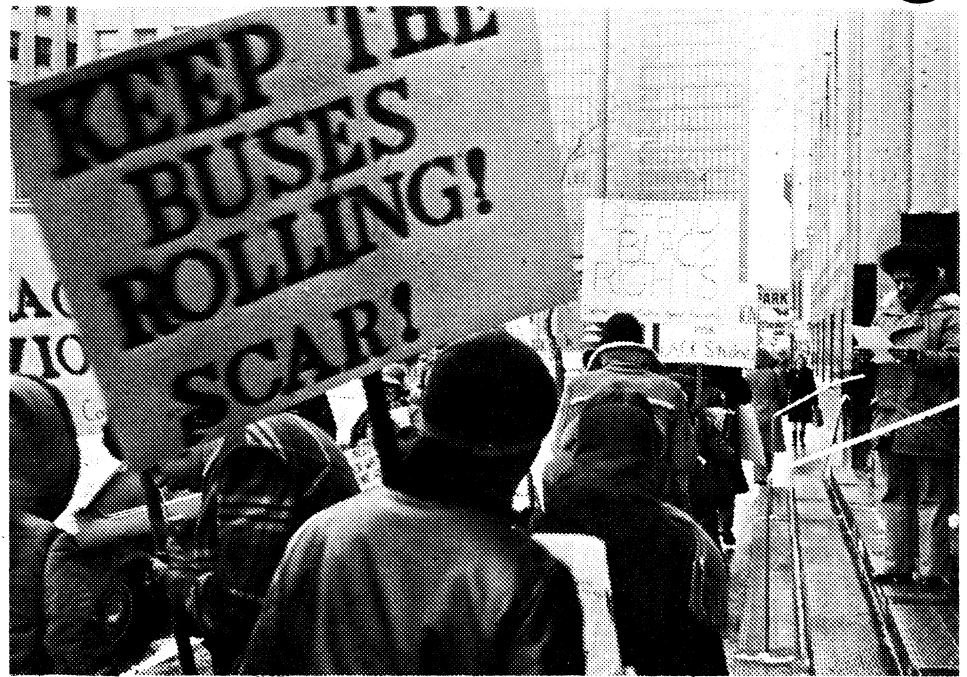
On the day schools opened, MAD President Carmen Roberts announced that antibusing parents would stage an "indefinite boycott" of the schools. The racists threatened to stop the buses by lying in the streets and making citizen's arrests of drivers carrying more than the legal maximum on board.

The day before school opened, two armed thugs boarded and threatened the driver of a school bus engaged in a dry run over a new route. They fled when the driver refused to be cowed and radioed the police.

Since the schools have opened, the racists have yet to attempt to halt a bus carrying students. So far the only antibusing picketers outside the schools have been a small group led by the Revolutionary Communist party, a Maoist group.

The boycott has amounted to little, with all but two schools reporting normal attendance.

The fact that the busing plan has been implemented so far with relative quiet can be attributed to two factors. First, the comparatively innocuous



Prodesegregation picketers counter antibusing protests

nature of the plan itself. Second, the public stance taken by city officials and prodesegregation forces against an outbreak of racist violence.

In the weeks leading up to January 26, city and police officials held news conferences announcing their intention to see the busing plan peacefully implemented.

Prodesegregation groups held forums and other activities designed to organize and demonstrate support for

peaceful implementation of the plan. Among these activities was a picket line at the Federal Building sponsored by the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism, the Detroit NAACP, Focus Hope, and the vice-president of the Wayne State University Association of Black Students. The picket drew about fifty students from Detroit colleges and high schools demanding that the plan be implemented without

Continued on page 26

Milwaukee judge orders school desegregation

By Delpfine Welch

MILWAUKEE—Federal Judge John Reynolds ruled January 19 that the Milwaukee School Board has maintained segregated schools, and he ordered steps to desegregate. Of the 114,000 students in the system, 33 percent are Black and 5 percent Chicano, Puerto Rican, or Native American.

Reynolds appointed John Gronouski, a former U.S. postmaster general and Wisconsin tax commissioner, as "special master" to develop and oversee a desegregation plan and to file a progress report by May 1, 1976. Gronouski currently teaches economics and public policy at the University of Texas.

The decision stems from a lawsuit filed in June 1965 by Lloyd Barbee, then NAACP state president, on behalf of forty-one Black and white students and their parents.

During the trial, school authorities did not deny that the schools were segregated nor did they claim that every student got an equal education. Their major defense was that segregation and inequality were not caused by

the school board, therefore it had no legal responsibility to eradicate them.

In his 141-page decision, Judge Reynolds found otherwise. He concluded that school authorities engaged in practices with the intent of creating and maintaining a segregated school system. He charged that the school officials had maintained a neighborhood school policy knowing it would lead to segregation.

While Black school board member Marion McEvilly hailed Reynolds's decision, saying she looked forward "to making certain that the intent of the order is carried out," the board voted 11 to 3 to appeal the order and to seek a delay in enforcing it.

Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier claims he would obey the order but "would resent it" because the suburbs are not affected.

Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, challenged Maier's stand, saying, "The city administration must move full steam ahead in implementing Reynolds's desegregation order rather than foot

dragging and counterposing a nonexistent metropolitan school district."

The fight for school desegregation in Milwaukee began in mid-1963 when Lloyd Barbee first asked the school board to eliminate segregation. The Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC) was formed by the NAACP and CORE to fight for school desegregation.

The protests that followed included marches, sit-ins, and school boycotts that drew up to 12,000.

Black leaders who were on the battle lines in those days generally reacted favorably to Judge Reynolds's decision. The *Milwaukee Courier*, one of the city's two Black weeklies, urged support from the "total Milwaukee community."

Doss Bender, president of the Milwaukee NAACP, praised the decision and hoped the plan devised "will be one for complete integration." The NAACP has not yet put forward a plan of its own.

All leaders in the Black community, however, are not behind the decision.

Lawrence Harwell, director of the Organization of Organizations (Triple O), a group active in working for improvements in inner-city schools, commented that "integration somehow subverts or covers up the key issue, which is how to make every school in the city a quality school." He added that he didn't know yet whether Triple O would ignore the order or would "assist with a plan that would make sure that Black people are hurt as little as possible."

Michael McGee, Minister of Unity for the United Black Community Council and candidate for alderman from the First District, echoed Harwell's positions.

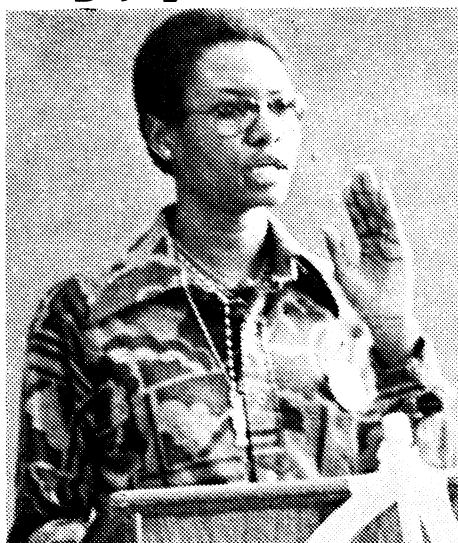
If Black schoolchildren are to win the right to an equal education, it is imperative that those groups and individuals that support Black rights join together to support the Reynolds order and fight for its enforcement. With the racist forces already gearing up for the fight, the protest movement of the 1960s is needed again to ensure that the schools will be desegregated.

NSCAR rally, planning meeting Feb. 20-22

A year ago, in response to the first wave of antibusing violence in Boston, 2,000 young people formed the National Student Coalition Against Racism. They came from across the country to Boston University to help plan a national fight for school desegregation and against racist attacks.

NSCAR will celebrate its first anniversary with a rally and national steering committee meeting in New York City on the weekend of February 20-22.

During the past year, student coalition chapters have sprung up on dozens of college and high school campuses and in many cities. These antiracist activists worked closely with the NAACP to organize the prodesegregation march of 15,000 in Boston on May 17, 1975. They have helped to mobilize students against educational cutbacks in New York



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

NSCAR coordinator Marcia Codling, at earlier NSCAR steering committee meeting, discusses strategy for antiracist fight.

City and elsewhere. They've organized rallies in defense of Joanne Little, Robert F. Williams, Hurricane Carter, J.B. Johnson, and other victims of racist frame-ups. They've picketed in support of the United Farm Workers and against U.S. intervention in Angola.

Leaders of the struggle for Black rights will join NSCAR at its February 20 anniversary rally against racism at Baruch College in New York City. Featured speakers will include civil rights leader Robert F. Williams; Melissa Wilson, a Black student leader from Boston's Hyde Park High School; Michael Meyers from the NAACP national office; and National Student Association Vice-president Gary Kampel.

At the Saturday and Sunday national steering committee meeting activists will map out NSCAR's spring campaign. Antiracist leaders

from across the country will discuss the renewed wave of antibusing violence in Boston and participate in a panel on anticutbacks struggles. All students and young people interested in organizing the national fight against racist attacks are invited to attend.

_____ I would like more information about NSCAR.

_____ I would like to attend the national steering committee meeting.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

School/Org. _____

Clip and mail to: NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Ave., Boston, Mass. 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

Vigilantes drive Black family from home

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Ruby Bradley decided to move her family from 15 Templeton Street in Dorchester because she thought one of her seven children might get killed by the racist gangs who have made the past ten days a nightmare.

She and George Lincoln, her white landlord, described the racist terror campaign and their efforts to stop it at a January 29 emergency news conference called by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). Two days earlier, the Bradley home had been fire bombed.

Bradley described the first night the family came to the previously all-white section of Boston. "They threw bricks at the house. They climbed on the porch threatening us, saying, 'We're going to kill you niggers if you don't get out of here!'" The vigilantes kept this up night after night.

None of the Bradley children had been able to go to school or invite friends to visit. It was like being "a prisoner in our own house," young Anna Bradley said. The day the Bradleys came to the news conference at the statehouse their taxicab was stoned. Ruby Bradley had faced stone throwing on previous days when she went out shopping.

When the racists launched their terror campaign, Bradley said, she called the police. But it took forty-five minutes for the cops to show up. "And when they did," she added, "they slowed down so everybody could get away."

One neighbor—an activist in the antibusing group Restore Our Alienated Rights—threatened Anna Bradley, "I'm going to choke you!"

The Bradleys and George Lincoln protested to the police, the FBI, and the Justice Department. Boston SCAR staff members worked closely with the family and Lincoln to get the facts to reporters. Some visited the Bradley home, then took their cameras and microphones and questions to the cops.

The public attention and phone calls to officials from sympathizers of the



Ruby Bradley and her two daughters are joined at news conference by George Lincoln (left), Hattie McCutcheon (second from right), and Mel King.

Bradleys made an impression on the District Eleven headquarters of the Boston police. They became slightly more responsive. But their "cooperation" was too little and too late for the Bradleys.

The family is going to temporarily move in with two older daughters. It will be easier to shop. The kids will be able to go to school and see their friends. They won't hear racists on their porch at 3:00 a.m., or bricks crashing through the windows.

But it will be hard for the Bradleys. Ruby Bradley is a welfare recipient, and the welfare department has refused to give her any money to move from Templeton Street.

When George Lincoln told the news conference of the two Black families over the past year-and-a-half who had been driven from the neighborhood and of the Black man murdered in the area, it was too much for Ruby Bradley. She broke into tears and her daughters took her from the room.

"There are laws in this commonwealth that are good and they have to be enforced and the police aren't enforcing them," Lincoln declared angrily.

Lincoln told how police had chastised him for renting to a Black family in the first place. "They said they couldn't protect them, that there was nothing they could do, that they were going to remain 'neutral.'"

Lincoln filed a complaint identifying four of the young racist hoodlums. He wants a federal grand jury convened to "find out who's behind these crimes."

State Rep. Mel King pointed out at the news conference that the Bradley case was part of a pattern. He called for increased pressure on the government to make sure that Blacks are "free from the racist violence and attacks put upon them. If the police won't do it, we need the state troopers, the state militia, or the national guard. Bring the army in. Black people have a

right to live anywhere in this commonwealth."

Hattie McCutcheon, of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, emphasized to the media that "these attacks come in the wake of a week-long drive by ROAR and other antibusers to disrupt and attack the education of Black students."

"Instead of enforcing the federally ordered desegregation plan, the city administration has added its obstruction and fomented the kind of turmoil that can breed the racial hatred we see surfacing in incidents like these concerning the Bradleys."

"We hope this most recent example will awaken everyone to the true intentions of the antibusers. . . . They intend to deny Blacks their rights in education, housing, and even their existence."

A few days after the news conference, George Lincoln told the *Militant* that the public campaign in support of the Bradleys had made the racist gangs a little less bold. However, on January 31, fifteen of them held a parade, singing, "We're going to hang George Lincoln from the old apple tree."

Lincoln is adamant about the need to desegregate Boston's all-white neighborhoods. "I want to see the protest grow in intensity, and focus in on the bigotry in this city, on the tyranny against Blacks," he says. "I want to see us follow up and get the criminals and scream out our lungs about the constitutional rights of Blacks that are being violated."

Lincoln continued, "You know, the U.S. government has federal troops all over the world—in Korea and Germany and Japan. Well, I think we ought to have federal troops in Boston."

"I told the student coalition and the NAACP and the ACLU that I'm available to do anything," Lincoln said. "People have to get off their butts, you know. When Ruby Bradley isn't allowed to live where she wants to, when she is driven out, then all of our civil rights are on the chopping block."

Boston tensions high after racist violence

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The city-wide surge of racist activity directed against Black students and against desegregation that shook Boston the week of January 19 has partially subsided. But it has left the city's embattled school system reeling.

Amid stepped-up police presence at Hyde Park High School, a tense calm exists. The school had been closed for two days after a series of violent attacks on Black students peaked on January 21. After the reopening of school January 26, four Black students were arrested for their alleged role in the turmoil.

On January 26 in South Boston High, a series of fights broke out. Thirty students, mostly Blacks, were suspended.

The all-Democratic Boston School Committee "certified" Parkway Academy in all-white West Roxbury on January 28. The "academy" is a "whites only" private institution for young bigots boycotting the desegregation plan.

On January 29, 114 Charlestown High School students who had been suspended after a January 26 walkout returned to school. They pledged support to a plan of the "white student caucus" to refuse to speak, raise hands, or open a book inside the school. Fights broke out the next day.

On January 30, more than 500 East

Boston High School students refused to enter school. The boycott action was part of their ongoing opposition to a plan to make the school a desegregated magnet school next fall.

Nearly 100 of the students then marched to Boston City Council chambers where they met with City Council President Louise Day Hicks. In their exuberance to meet Hicks, the students crashed through the building's glass entrance.

After winning praise from Hicks, they marched to Boston School Committee offices where they were embraced by Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, East Boston ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) leader and newly elected school committee member. The racists then tried to march to Charlestown High School to rally there but were deterred by police.

On January 27, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity rebuked Boston Mayor Kevin White, who opposes desegregation, for his "saber rattling" claims that the cost of busing is bankrupting the city.

Hicks and other antibusing leaders have used this theme to threaten that schools will have to close six weeks early and that there will have to be payless workdays for teachers.

"The constitutional rights of pupils, Black and white," Garrity said, "are not going to take second place to . . . routine expenditures."

But while blasting White, Garrity also startled supporters of desegregation by praising the school committee. He said he has "no indication there is anything but earnest round-the-clock efforts to comply with the plan."

Greater doses of such "efforts to comply" could spell the wrecking of Garrity's busing order.

In response to the racist mobilizations, busing supporters have also taken action. On January 28, as the school committee met, forty people picketed in subfreezing weather to demand protection for Black students. The picket line, initiated by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, drew support from Black and Puerto Rican campus and high school groups and local Black leaders.

While television and radio reporters recorded the event for broadcast that evening, young bigots gathered and tried to provoke the demonstrators. "What about white people?" one kept shouting. Palladino leaned out her office window above and shouted to the picketers, "You're all a bunch of racists!"

At the conclusion of the picket line, racist toughs followed several activists, yelling "nigger lovers" and "niggers suck."

The mood of violence and tension displayed by the bigots at the school committee offices illustrates the potential for renewed explosions.



Cops on hand outside Hyde Park High School. School was closed for two days following racist attacks on Black students.

New Puerto Rico 'compact':

By José Pérez

The Congress of the United States began debating in late January a proposal to reorganize the way the United States dominates the island colony of Puerto Rico.

This debate has been provoked by increasing problems with the previous system of colonial administration, among which four deserve special mention.

- The Puerto Rican economy has been steadily sliding into an ever-deepening catastrophe, bringing to an end a twenty-five-year period of industrialization and economic growth.

- The present powerlessness of the San Juan government creates difficulties when the U.S. rulers want to impose reactionary measures on the island but the U.S. Congress finds it politically embarrassing to adopt them.

- The proindependence movement on the island has been gaining strength at a rapid pace in the past decade, and proindependence ideas are penetrating the labor movement in Puerto Rico on a broad scale.

- The transparently colonial status of Puerto Rico has become an international scandal. This status has been recognized by official bodies of the United Nations and other international organizations.

500 years of colonialism

For almost 500 years, since Columbus lost his way en route to India and ran into the Western Hemisphere, the residents of Puerto Rico have not had control over their collective destiny, their forms of economic and social organization, or the island's relations with other countries.

Until 1898, it was Spain that was the colonial power. But in that year, the United States invaded the island, wresting it by force from the Spanish.

In 1900, the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act, organizing a civilian government for the island. It established a local legislature, but retained for the U.S. Congress the right to decide all major questions. The upper chamber of the legislature—the equivalent of the U.S. Senate—and the governor, cabinet, and major administrative posts were to be appointed from Washington.

In 1917, several changes were introduced under the Jones Act. This act imposed U.S. citizenship on Puerto Ricans, with the intent of reinforcing U.S. control of the island as the North Americans were becoming involved in World War I. Also, it was meant to settle forever the question of whether Puerto Rico could become independent. The answer from Congress was "No!"

This direct colonial rule, without the slightest attempt at a cover-up, continued until after World War II. During those five decades, a tremendous transformation took place in the economic and social structure of the island.

The economy fell by degrees into the hands of U.S. interests. This impeded the development of a native wealthy class whose interests were independent from those of the U.S. capitalists. Instead, what developed was a layer of small Puerto Rican capitalists, Puerto Rican managers and representatives of U.S. interests, and well-paid functionaries of the colonial administration.

The privileges of this layer were largely dependent on, and most easily guaranteed by, continued U.S. economic and political domination of the country.

Another factor must be taken into account to understand the post-World War II political changes. That was the worldwide upsurge of the colonial revolution. Countries that for decades or centuries had been ruled by imperialist powers won formal independence, and in some cases, such as that of China, broke the stranglehold of imperialism over their economic and social life as well.

The growing anticolonial sentiment made it embarrassing for the United States to maintain Puerto Rico as an undisguised colony.

'Commonwealth' fraud

By 1952, consequently, the way Puerto Rico was governed was reorganized. That reorganization culminated in the drafting of a Puerto Rican constitution that set up a local, popularly elected government administration.

However, that process took place under provisions of a bill passed by the U.S. Congress, which said that Congress—not the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, as the new government was called—had control over important matters.



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

Eighty thousand marched through San Juan in 1971 to demand independence. New proposal before U.S. Congress is designed to thwart desire of Puerto Rican masses to govern their own homeland.

The House and Senate retained the right to make laws and apply them to Puerto Rico *unilaterally*. In addition, Congress retained *exclusive* right to legislate over the following areas, among others:

- Foreign relations, including economic and military treaties and involvement of Puerto Ricans in wars;
- Immigration, citizenship, customs, and tariffs;
- Licensing of radio and television stations;
- Nuclear power;
- Minimum wages and other labor matters; and
- Monetary policy, coinage, and major regulation of banks.

The commonwealth government controls such things as schools and traffic and criminal laws. That is the present relationship between the colony of Puerto Rico and the empire of the United States. In many ways, the division of power is parallel to that between the states and the federal government, with one very important exception: island residents have no control over or input into the federal government.

Puerto Ricans are not allowed to vote for president, nor for members of Congress. The Puerto Rican "resident commissioner" sits in on sessions of the House of Representatives with voice but no vote.

Economic transformation

The shift in formal governmental relations was accompanied by a shift in economic strategy. With the help of North American "advisers," a giveaway program for big business was instituted, purportedly to develop the island's economy.

This program—"Operation Bootstrap"—did succeed in transforming the economy. Agriculture, previously the major industry, was virtually wiped out. The big growth sectors of the economy became government, light manufacturing, transportation, construction, and commerce.

In the past decade, there has been a growth of heavy industry, especially petroleum refineries. Unlike the garment and other light manufacturing industries established in the 1950s and early 1960s, heavy industry has provided only a handful of jobs for Puerto Ricans.

U.S. investors were attracted by a combination of three "incentives." First, the safety of their investments was insured by U.S. control of the island. Second, there was a large pool of labor available, forced to work at substandard wages because of high unemployment. Third, a 100 percent exemption was provided for long periods from both Puerto Rican and U.S. taxes.

The economic expansion was made possible by the post-World War II boom of capitalism on a world scale, which provided an additional "incentive" for U.S. investors, and the most important one: the possibility of expanding production *profitably* on a large scale.

"Bootstrap" never was all it was cracked up to be: hundreds of thousands of people continue living in shacks unfit for human beings; unemployment has never gone below an official rate of 10 percent; wages in Puerto Rico are one-third to one-half those in the United States; and a third of the Puerto Rican people have been forced to abandon their homeland and come to the ghettos of New York and other cities looking for work.

Moreover, the economic expansion was not a balanced development, designed to use the natural resources of the island and satisfy the needs of its people. On the contrary, Puerto Rico has become a country that consumes what it does not produce and produces what it does not consume. Rice, the daily staple of the Puerto Rican masses, is imported from as far away as California. U.S. corporations find it more profitable to speculate on land values than to put the fertile soil to productive use.

Down-turn

With the end of the post-World War II economic boom, dramatically illustrated by the simultaneous recession in all major capitalist countries during 1974-75, Puerto Rico was thrown into a profound economic crisis.

The real gross national product has been in a decline for two years. Unemployment was officially 19.9 percent in December 1975. Real unemployment was estimated by the *New York Times* at 40 percent. And Puerto Rican government officials say it will continue to rise. Many factories, especially

cover-up for imperialist rule

those in light manufacturing, have been closed down and will never reopen: they have been moved to other countries where even cheaper wages prevail. The construction industry is on the verge of complete collapse, and contractors are selling their heavy equipment to other countries. While in the United States it has been clear for months that the decline in production has bottomed out, the Puerto Rican economy is still in a nose dive, with no indication of an upturn in sight.

Taxes have gone up 20 percent in two years, while there have been sweeping cutbacks in education, health care, and other social services. The government is finding it more and more difficult to borrow from U.S. banks, and its credit rating is slipping.

This situation has led to increasing struggles by the labor movement. Twice in recent years, the governor has called out the national guard to break strikes by public workers. Strikes in the private sector are met with arrests, frame-ups of leaders and activists, and union-busting interventions by the U.S. "labor relations" machinery.

The economic crash and the social crisis it is producing have exposed the fact that the commonwealth government is essentially powerless. It has neither the fiscal resources nor the legal authority to take the kinds of measures necessary to alleviate the situation. This has led to a renewed discussion of the island's relationship to the United States among broad masses of Puerto Rican working people.

The 'compact'

It is in this context that the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States" is being proposed in the U.S. Congress.

That document is the product of a joint Puerto Rican-North American Advisory Group established by President Nixon and Puerto Rican Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón in 1973.

If approved by Congress and signed into law by the U.S. president, it would be submitted to a referendum of the Puerto Rican people. It would replace the Puerto Rican Federal Relations Act of 1950, which established the present setup.

The essence of the compact is that it continues, virtually unchanged, the complete U.S. domination of the island.

It recodifies provisions of the current laws giving the United States total control over military and foreign policy matters, currency, immigration, and citizenship. It keeps Puerto Rico under the jurisdiction of most federal regulatory agencies. U.S. courts and cops would retain their authority in Puerto Rico, and the highest arbiter of the meaning and constitutionality of laws would remain the U.S. Supreme Court.

The language of the compact is designed to cover this up.

Cosmetic changes

The compact hypocritically speaks of the "free and sovereign will" of the Puerto Rican people in a law that must first be discussed, debated, amended, and approved by the United States government before the people of Puerto Rico can even have a vote on it.

The law changes the English-language name of the government of Puerto Rico to "Free Associated State," which it has been in Spanish for twenty-five years.

It drops the words "belonging to the United States" from U.S. laws describing Puerto Rico. The inclusion of this phrase, the Advisory Group concedes, "has provided one of the most telling rhetorical arguments raised . . . in endeavoring to prove that Puerto Rico is still a colony 'belonging to' a colonialist United States."

Another cosmetic change is the transference of legal title to state property to the San Juan government. Currently, all such property is formally owned by the United States, although land not being used by the federal government is controlled by the Puerto Rican government. Now, all will be "owned" by Puerto Rico—except the United States gets to go on using the land for military bases, federal offices, and other purposes without paying one cent in rent to the new "owner." Lands currently occupied by the U.S. military amount to 13 percent of the small island's most fertile soil.

Window dressing

Then there are a number of proposals that, while appearing to be significant, are in fact only more window dressing.

One of these is a clause specifying that the compact can only be altered by a joint decision of the United States and Puerto Rico. Not only is this a violation of the right of Puerto Rico to control its own destiny, but, in addition, it is a well-established principle of U.S. law that Congress can change or repeal any law it passes.

Another proposal is a long and convoluted procedure for passing federal laws for the island. What it amounts to is that a law passed in the United States must specifically say it applies to Puerto Rico, rather than being automatically applied as is the case with most laws today. It also specifies that the Puerto Rican government gets to have a special hearing if it objects to a law, but Congress still has the final say.

Veto power?

'This has been presented in some U.S. newspapers as a kind of veto power over federal legislation, which is false. It amounts to nothing more than the right to lobby. The U.S. government retains the right to *unilaterally* impose laws on Puerto Rico, *irrespective* of the wishes of the Puerto Rican government or people.

Another such proposal is the addition of a Puerto Rican nonvoting delegate to the Senate. Similarly, it is proposed to add Puerto Rican "observers" to U.S. trade delegations.

Finally, there are some proposals to extend the Puerto Rican government's power in a few areas.

The compact would grant the Puerto Rican government "exclusive jurisdiction" over minimum wages, labor relations, and occupational health and safety.

The reason for this proposal is that Washington wants the San Juan administration to have more power to attack the working class: to drive down the minimum wage, reduce health and safety protection

Finally, the compact sets up an ongoing joint commission to study U.S.-Puerto Rican relations.

It is unclear whether the compact will be approved by Congress and, if so, in what form. The report of the Advisory Group contains a section of "Separate Views of Members" that is interesting in this regard.

Senators J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) and James Buckley (C-R-N.Y.) agree that the draft compact is not "final or definitive," adding, "The document should be . . . perfected and modified in language, style and, in some cases, concept."

More specific is U.S. Rep. Don Clausen (R-Calif.), who objects to the tariff provisions and to giving anyone the idea that Congress couldn't unilaterally change the compact.

Paul Howell, who heads the Houston-based Howell Corporation, raises questions about the provisions on labor, tariffs, and immigration.

The thrust of these comments is all in the direction of moving away from *any*, even limited, expansion of the San Juan government's authority.

On the other hand, all the Puerto Rican members who support the idea of the "Free Associated State" say that more, not less, autonomy is called for. Even the pro-statehood minority leader of the Puerto Rican Senate is obliged to admit that "a *maximum* of self-government" hasn't been achieved; it's "still an agenda for the future."

There will be, it seems, a considerable amount of jockeying in Congress.

Free Puerto Rico now!

The real losers in this whole process will be the Puerto Rican masses, whose desire to control their own destiny is getting short shrift in all the rhetoric about "maximum of self-government" as a colony of the United States.

The urgent economic and social needs of the



High-rises amid shanties in San Juan. Under U.S. rule, Puerto Rico's working people are forced to live in squalor.

on the job, and undercut even further the right of Puerto Rican workers to organize in unions and to strike.

For example, for many years federal law allowed lower minimum wages in Puerto Rico than in this country. But protests from the labor movement finally forced Congress to make the minimum wage the same, in a law that went into effect January 1. If the compact is adopted, the Puerto Rican government would be free to lower the minimum wage on the island once again.

These measures are put forward not to give Puerto Ricans greater control over their own country. They are designed, on the contrary, to have the San Juan government carry out reactionary measures that even the U.S. Congress finds too embarrassing to impose.

The compact also provides tariff exemption for raw materials imported into Puerto Rico if they are subsequently processed on the island. This would simply add more millions to the hundreds of millions of dollars the U.S. companies make each year by exploiting Puerto Rican workers.

Puerto Rican people are totally ignored. To the extent that the compact proposal represents any economic changes, it will only make Puerto Rico more dependent on the United States, making it even easier for the giant U.S. monopolies to extract profits from the superexploited island.

Washington has no right to dictate—or even discuss!—how much self-government Puerto Rico should have. That is a matter for the Puerto Rican people themselves to discuss and decide.

If Congress were really interested in ensuring that the "free and sovereign will" of the Puerto Rican people is respected, this could easily be done.

Simply pass a law repealing the 1950 Federal Relations Act, and renounce any measure of control over Puerto Rico. U.S. cops, courts, military bases, and other agencies should be withdrawn immediately, and U.S. corporate holdings turned over to the Puerto Rican government.

Only under those conditions can the Puerto Rican people determine for themselves, free of outside interference, what type of government they want and what relations—if any—their government will maintain with the United States.

In Our Opinion

Plyushch's appeal

Leonid Plyushch, Soviet dissident and mathematician, was released from a mental hospital and allowed to emigrate in January, after four years of imprisonment. At a February 3 news conference in Paris, he provided shocking documentation of the way oppositionists are treated by Stalin's heirs in the Soviet Union.

During his imprisonment, Plyushch was forced to take mind-dulling drugs. He was isolated from other political inmates at the hospital to further demoralize him. He was constantly tormented by doctors conducting political inquisitions under the guise of psychiatric consultations.

Plyushch noted that he was "considered the most dangerous patient in the hospital," explaining that the Stalinists use "particularly cruel tactics against Marxist dissidents."

"Why did you go into politics?" the inquisitors taunted. "You're not a Bolshevik." But the truth is that Plyushch and others like him are the rightful representatives of the courage and ideals of Lenin's Bolsheviks in today's Soviet Union.

Plyushch's freedom was wrested from the Stalinist bureaucracy by a worldwide protest campaign. At his news conference, he noted the urgent need to mount a similar campaign for Vladimir Bukovsky, dissident writer; Mustafa Djemilev, a leader of the Crimean Tatars; and Valentin Moroz, Ukrainian historian. We add our voice to Plyushch's in his call for "all honest people to join in this fight."

Profits versus lives

Three engineers long involved in the production of nuclear power recently resigned their high-paying jobs with General Electric. They announced they were joining the California movement to block the construction of nuclear power plants. An initiative on the question will be on the ballot in that state next June.

A controversy is raging around the safety of these nuclear facilities, which have been multiplying across the country. The big power companies have spent millions on advertising aimed at convincing the public that they are safe and clean.

These three men were in a unique position to evaluate that claim. They decided it is a lie.

One of the engineers, Dale Bridenbaugh, revealed that his job "was not really to assess the safety of the plant, it was to see what could be done to assure their continued operation."

Their continued operation, of course, means a steady profit for the handful of wealthy investors who control GE and the other energy monopolies.

Technology holds the key to the future. But under the capitalist system, potentially liberating forces such as nuclear power are turned into deadly threats to human life.

Because at General Electric, profits are the most important product.

Right to abortion

Gerald Ford has now added his voice to the reactionary, anti-abortion chorus. "I do not believe in abortion on demand," Ford said. In his view, the 1973 Supreme Court decision "went too far."

America's so-called right-to-life forces have launched a drive to amend the U.S. Constitution to deny women the right to control their own bodies. They are marching in step with the segregationist bigots who are pushing for an amendment to ban busing.

At the same time, most of these very people are dead set against adding a simple, one-sentence amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing equal rights for women.

The Democratic party presidential candidates, for their part, are either dodging the question or are openly lining up with the Catholic church hierarchy and other enemies of women's liberation.

The 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion was a major victory for women. But neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can be relied on to defend that victory. That task requires a women's movement ready to take to the streets every time women's rights come under attack.

Letters

Watergate, hospital-style

In a recent bimonthly report of the Health Policy Advisory Committee, a New York organization that conducts research on the politics of the medical system in the United States, I read the following item:

In August 1975, the owner, administrator, and attorney of a hospital in Prince Georges County in Maryland were arrested on conspiracy charges for bugging and breaking into a local doctor's office. The reason? To prevent the construction of a hospital that the physician was setting up.

The three men were hired by a private investigator to gather information and steal documents that might prevent the hospital from being built. The investigator even arranged a job for his wife in the doctor's office so that she could spy on him.

But there's more: The endeavor also included plans to crash-land a small plane on the site of the new hospital to demonstrate that it lay too dangerously close to the landing field of Andrews Air Force Base.

Well, the case was turned over to the county district attorney, and there has been no word of pardon, presidential or otherwise, to date. Evidently the plan was abandoned. Maybe they couldn't find a comprehensive health insurance plan that covered crash landings!

Roberta Frick

New York, New York

Zionism

As a Jew who knows something of Israel and the Middle East, I commend the *Militant* for daring to state that Zionism is indeed a form of racism. In the current atmosphere, that takes courage.

However, wouldn't the Palestinian movement have done much better to denounce Zionism for its colonialism and its privileged ties with American imperialism? *These* are the features of Zionism which threaten the emergence of a revolutionary movement in the Mideast.

I'm afraid that the recent UN resolution, as stated, didn't put Zionism on the defensive nearly as much as it could have. This, of course, is only a reflection on the present Palestinian leaders, who are ardent nationalists, but definitely not socialists.

May I ask the *Militant* to clarify its stand on the issue of Palestinian nationalism?

Edward Hirsch

Middletown, Connecticut

Capitalist 'ideals'

The bourgeois ideal of a vicious criminal is someone who steals from the capitalist what he considers dearest to his heart—his profits. To give you an example of just how far a capitalist will go to protect his money, let's examine an all-too-familiar criminal: the junkie.

If it were not for the fact that the junkie had to steal, he would be no special problem to the capitalist. But he does steal, and therefore must be dealt with as any other criminal. Except for one thing: we all know that prison will not stop a heroin addict from shooting stuff, therefore not allowing him to stop his thievery.

So take a look at what the bourgeois considers help for an addict.

Methadone, the miracle cure for heroin addiction. Now everyone is content, and why not? The junkie seems pacified, making local merchants at ease once again. So nobody suffers, right?

Wrong! The junkie suffers because he

is still at the mercy of a highly addictive drug. The only thing that has changed for him is that he no longer has to steal. But what could we expect. After all, the only real problem as far as the capitalists were concerned was their loss of money, and not the junkie as an individual.

Look at how long the heroin problem has existed in the ghettos of our cities. The attitude then was, why not let it continue there—as long as the crime was there with it. But the minute the junk found its way to the more productive side of town, then, and only then, were the bourgeoisie concerned.

Their course of action was nothing more than a mere device to control the junkie. The loss of life meant nothing to the capitalist. But his money did.

A prisoner

Iowa

City Light settlement

Electrical workers are back on the job at Seattle's public utility, City Light. Despite a ninety-eight-day strike (see the January 16 *Militant*), the workers were forced to make concessions to the city bosses in the areas of work rules and wages.

The strikers' central demand, wage parity with workers at other utilities, was won. In a departure from previous practices, the new wage rates are retroactive to April 1, 1975, the day the old contract expired. This is a concession by the union, since in the past, wage hikes were always retroactive to January 1 of the old contract's last year.

By making the wage increases retroactive to April 1, 1975, instead of January 1, coupled with the savings to the city in unpaid wages during the three-month strike, the mayor claims to have limited the wage settlement to 11.2 percent. This compares with the 11.5 percent wage increase granted other municipal unions. Nonunion city employees received a 10 percent raise this year.

The city claims that new work rules, such as requiring electrical workers to change burnt-out light bulbs in street lamps, will make City Light employees more "productive."

The strikers received little support from other municipal unions or the labor movement in general. This doing-nothing attitude reflected the desire of most union officials to avoid conflict with the Democratic and Republican party politicians who run Seattle's city hall. This is especially true because many of the worst antilabor politicians were elected to office with union support.

Electrical workers returned to the job January 23, after voting 389 to 238 to accept the contract. This was Local 77's (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) first strike.

Harold Schlechtweg

Seattle, Washington

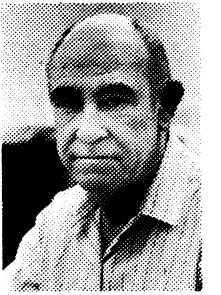
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The January 23 issue of the *Militant* ran an article entitled "Terror in San Diego—FBI murder plots uncovered." It reported the attempt by ex-FBI informer Howard Godfrey to kill a radical professor, Peter Bohmer, in January 1972. It was later disclosed that the FBI had paid Godfrey \$250 a month and supplied him with \$10,000 to \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives.

As a result of these disclosures, a lawsuit against the FBI and the government was filed. The *Militant* story failed to mention two of the individuals who are a part of this suit. The suit includes not only Peter

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Bohmer and Paula Tharp, who were mentioned in the article, but also George Katsiaficas and Sherry Whitehead.
M.Z.
San Diego, California

'Fantasy heritage'

A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* describes bicentennial celebrations in the Southwest that supposedly focus on history more relevant to the area than those being projected for cities on the east coast.

According to the *Times*, "The Spanish colonial heritage is being recalled as the nation commemorates its 200th anniversary." One of the activities projected is a reenactment of the 1775 1,500-mile expedition that resulted in the founding of San Francisco.

Arizona Gov. Raul Castro responded to these celebrations, stating, "What went on in Philadelphia (in 1776) is meaningless here, especially to a guy like me, who came from Mexico."

Many of the festivals planned *do* have much more relevance to the area or evoke a better response from Chicanos. None of the festivals, however, vary substantially from those described by Carey McWilliams in the 1940s in *North from Mexico*, in that they laud "Spanish influence" while conveniently ignoring Mexicans and our heritage. McWilliams called it "fantasy heritage," first because most of it never happened, and second because it was used to put down Chicanos.

A graphic example of this is the 1931 celebration of the 150th birthday of Los Angeles, a city whose roots are *mexicano* and Indian. While newspapers made reference to old Spanish customs, costumes, dances, and music, *thousands* of Mexicans and Chicanos were being deported because they were deemed "alien"—a not uncommon practice today.
M.H.

Los Angeles, California

A definition

When talking to people about socialism, I have often been reduced to a blank stare when asked to sum up in a few words what we stand for. After all, we stand for a great deal! I believe, however, that I can summarize it now, and for the benefit of others would like to submit the following:

We believe that without exception the people of every race and nation are equal. That the earth is the common property of those who live on it. That every individual is entitled to a fair share of the best of such food, housing, education, and medical care as society may be able to provide. And that in return every individual who is able should perform such work, with dignity and just compensation, as society finds necessary to its continued functioning. And that democracy is the only just means by which society may decide any question.
W.D.

Holbrook, Massachusetts

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Cleanup time

Now is the time when true believers start cleaning up the image of the two-party system. It happens every four years, but 1976 is different because the Democratic and Republican parties are badly tarnished with corruption in government.

Neither party has a candidate for U.S. president who looks like a "champion of all the people," not even of very many people. Capitalist-party candidates all lack the necessary qualification to garner votes in this year of unemployment, inflation, and the money crisis. Both parties are staunch defenders of the austerity drive, competing to slash welfare programs, school appropriations, jobs, and wages.

Nowhere has the attack on public employees and teachers been more vicious than in New York City and New York State. Both are headed by Democrats: Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey. These two worthies are currently worried over pending state legislation that would restore \$60 million yearly in education cuts at the expense of allocations for city police, fire fighters, and sanitation workers. A terrible dilemma.

Not one politician in the state capital or at city hall, neither a single maverick Republican nor a Democratic "friend of labor," has dared suggest that maybe the rich corporations that showed big profits for 1975 might be taxed to solve the money crisis. Nor has any of these politicians mentioned that the federal government, which spends annually in excess of \$100 billion on military and spy operations, might cut out these socially destructive programs and put money into schools and other socially useful areas.

The customary way to keep the two-party system intact when there is no discernible difference between the two and both are equally disreputable is to start a cleanup campaign.

The Republicans have their own ways of doing it. Ford hopes to fan off some of the foul odor of his administration by casting out a couple of Nixon appointees.

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



No recovery for jobless

For the millions of men and women in this country who still cannot find work, the much-touted economic recovery is just headlines in a newspaper or empty promises from the mouths of capitalist politicians. There has been a rise in industrial production, a record-breaking climb in profits, and a boom on Wall Street. But these have not touched the lives of the unemployed.

The most severe economic slump since the Great Depression swelled the ranks of the unemployed from 3.8 million in October 1973 to more than 8.2 million in May 1975, according to the official statistics.

The latest Labor Department figures, for December, report 7.8 million people out of work, or 8.3 percent of the total work force. This is only slightly lower than at the worst point of the recession.

Ford likes to point out that the total number of jobs in the economy has increased from the low point last year. That is true. But even so, the job total remains more than 2.5 million lower than in July 1974. The slow pace of job creation barely keeps up with the normal growth of the population seeking work.

Black and women workers, hardest hit by the slump, also benefit the least from the upturn. For whites and males, official unemployment has declined more than 11 percent since the worst point of the recession. For minorities and women, the decline is only 5 percent.

It is well known by now that the official figure doesn't include all the unemployed. Another 3.3 million workers want full-time jobs but can only find part-time work.

Nearly one million people, the so-called discouraged workers, want jobs but are not actively looking because they are sure they can't find anything. And although Blacks make up less than 12 percent of the total labor force, they are more than 30 percent of the "discouraged" workers.

There is another category of hidden unemployment that is not as well known. The Labor Department reports that more than one million women say they

The Democrats do not rely on such self-reform, or prefer not to. They are blessed with exorcists from the outside.

Victor Gotbaum, New York City head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, is calling for a crusade to clean up the Democratic party and make it serve the needs of the labor movement.

Gotbaum is careful to keep his remarks within the current political framework, accepting the money crisis as good coin and endorsing the austerity program. All he wants is a redistribution of the scarcity. Loyal Democrats in the patronage system must be sacrificed.

"We cannot expect to increase productivity among the 300,000-plus city employees," he says, "if we continue to place above them in key administrative posts men and women chosen solely because of their party."

"Yes," says Gotbaum, "I am very much aware that the main culprit is *my* party, the Democratic party; I want to see the party cleansed of this disease of political patronage so that it can be a more effective political instrument in behalf of our membership and all other New Yorkers."

This is all part of the two-party game, a way of gulling voters. Gotbaum may think the Democratic party is his party. It is not. It is wholly owned and entirely controlled by the bankers in the same way as the Republican party, and is in no way influenced by those who work for it and vote for it.

The Democratic party is not a membership organization. The Democratic clubs are for catching votes and dispensing patronage, and have nothing whatsoever to do with making policy or choosing candidates. The party machine is an effective political instrument of the ruling class, one of the pillars of government in this country. Cleaning up that party won't change the character of it any more than polishing brass will produce gold.

want jobs but are not looking because of "home responsibilities." They, like the "discouraged" workers, are counted as "not in the labor force." In reality, this is a case of forced unemployment caused mainly by the lack of decent low-cost child-care facilities.

Add it all up and you get more than 13 million people who are completely or partially unemployed.

The official figures also tend to conceal the fact that the plight of the unemployed is in many respects getting worse, not better.

A large and growing portion of the total is made up of people who have been out of a job for a long time. More than 1.6 million workers have been unemployed for twenty-seven weeks or longer. This category has more than tripled in the past year.

By now, many have exhausted their unemployment compensation. The Labor Department estimates that by April, 2.5 million men and women will have run out of benefits.

Piling injury upon injury, the length of time the jobless can collect benefits has just been *cut back* in thirty-two states.

Especially for the Black community, there is no economic recovery. Only a worsening of discrimination. Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, reports: "In every category of measurement—unemployment rates, duration of joblessness, in earnings and in labor force entry of young workers—the Black community is being forced back into patterns that were commonplace during the Great Depression of the 1930s."

Based on current trends, Hill says, "The Black worker can never catch up to the white worker in this country."

For the American capitalist system, this vast expansion of the army of the unemployed—and the widening of the gap between white and Black—is not an accident, something that will be corrected later on. It is precisely what the "recovery" is all about. More on that in a future column.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Malpractice, anyone?—Haverstraw, New York, officials may prosecute a home for the elderly where a resident died of malnutrition. William Maltzman, five feet eight inches tall, weighed forty-eight pounds when he died. The owner of the home said he had advised a local psychiatric center that Maltzman had stopped eating the home's food. The center said they had checked Maltzman two weeks before he died but the examining doctor hadn't noticed how thin he was because he was "wearing an overcoat and had a big beard."

Off key—After six months, Nashville theaters stopped playing the national anthem before movie showings because it sparked fights between those who stood up and those who



didn't. One manager said nearly everyone stood up in affluent areas, while almost no one stood up elsewhere. "I guess the more affluent sections of town feel better about the country," he observed.

A reasonable question—"Do the FBI crime statistics include the crimes committed by the FBI?"—A letter to *Time*.

The man in the frocked trenchcoat—"Clergymen throughout the world are often valuable sources of intelligence."—President Ford explaining why the CIA will continue using missionaries as spies.

Anything-for-a-buck dep't.—Iowa Democrats invited the public to

pay ten dollars each for the privilege of watching national political reporters do their thing during the tabulation of presidential caucus results.

How democratic can you get?—A report in the January 3 *Daily World* on Hungarian unions states: "BUDAPEST—Greater worker participation was one of the central themes at the Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions held in mid-December. New union rules were adopted. Yearly reports by local secretaries to memberships were made compulsory."

Rich too—According to the *Cleveland Press*, Hitler refused to eat meat and considered those who did "blood-thirsty."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten

In the ticklish, seven-come-eleven world of North Carolina justice, where the odds against a fair roll are higher than those at a Vegas gambling table, Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten have been peering down at snake eyes for several years.

The ten surrendered themselves to state authorities February 2 to begin sentences after the United States Supreme Court refused to review their state convictions. The ten were framed for burning a grocery store and conspiring to assault rescue workers during a ghetto rebellion in 1971 that sprang from Black student demands at a newly desegregated high school. They still hope to win release through an appeal in federal courts.

For Chavis it was his umpteenth run-in with North Carolina jurisprudence, sometimes directed against the twenty-eight-year old Black activist by the center of government in Washington, D.C.

A former U.S. assistant attorney indicated in April 1972 that the federal government had been after Chavis for "a long time." "They've been

biding their time until they could make it stick," he said.

At that time Chavis was already charged for helping two men steal away to Canada to avoid trial on a weapons charge. The men had their charges dropped, it was later learned, after they agreed to accept payment for fingering Chavis and a codefendant. The men were paid \$4,000 each in federal money in a deal approved by then Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian, who was later convicted in a Watergate matter.

Chavis, however, was found not guilty.

In another case, in June 1973, prosecutor Jay Stroud brought Chavis to trial for "accessory after the fact" of murder. The judge dismissed the charge, though, citing a lack of evidence.

Stroud was the prosecutor who had gotten the original conviction against the ten. His plus factor in that case rested on the testimony of two men who claimed to have been with the defendants at the time. One had been convicted of murder and the other had a history of mental illness.

When the first jury was empaneled (ten Blacks, two whites), Stroud became ill, prompting a mistrial. After a second jury (ten whites, two Blacks) was chosen, Stroud was feeling much better. And when this jury returned a guilty verdict, Stroud—who was promoted to U.S. district attorney of eastern North Carolina by Richard Nixon as one of Nixon's last acts in office—was beside himself with joy.

Eight of the Wilmington Ten were high school students at the time. They are now serving twenty or more years each. A forty-year-old woman who aided the students is serving seven to ten years. Chavis, who also helped the students, is now serving twenty-nine to thirty-four years.

A reporter, on a visit to Wilmington in 1973, was impressed by the energy of Wilmington Ten supporters who stuck it out with Chavis and the others through the trials and over the years. Their voices sang with confidence. In a telephone conversation on February 2 they sounded tired. Their voices cried with pain.

Their Government

Nancy Cole



Treating the 'Philip Agee syndrome'

WASHINGTON—It's hard to pinpoint the precise moment at which it occurred. Some might place it after the ballyhoo created by the killing of CIA station chief Richard Welch. Others would say it began long before and was only aided by that CIA hysteria campaign. Regardless, a bizarre turnabout has happened on Capitol Hill: senators are no longer talking about CIA crimes, but rather about "crimes" against the CIA.

True, what has been leaked of the House Intelligence Committee's final report is rife with more CIA horror stories. Not everyone has caught on to the new game plan yet. But for growing numbers of our public servants, now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their country's spies.

The threat to America is no longer the powerful police-state-like spy agencies. It's now the danger of "leaks" and the potential sabotage involved in airing any of the government's secrets.

Case in point: On January 21, the Senate Government Operations Committee began six days of hearings on "intelligence oversight." The theory is that there's nothing wrong with the CIA, the FBI, or any of the dozen or so other U.S. spy agencies except that "nobody was minding the store." (Credit

Sen. Howard Baker for that one.)

So with that in mind, committee head Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) opened the hearings intended to "improve the policies of the future, rather than dwell on the mistakes of the past."

Invited to share their views with the committee were other senators and current and former intelligence and government officials. First up was Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who characterized past intelligence activities as "a cornerstone to national survival, manned, in my judgment, by the most competent, effective, and dedicated individuals ever assembled."

Mansfield was followed by Senate Intelligence Committee head Frank Church, who proclaimed proudly that one of the nicest things about his panel was that it was leakproof. To rubberize his proposed Senate oversight committee, he suggested removal from office of those legislators who divulge intelligence secrets.

Church claimed that all leaks have been a result of the "Philip Agee syndrome," and added that he knew the value of intelligence work firsthand because he had been an "intelligence officer" during World War II.

All those testifying were given a most friendly reception by the committee members. Despite stiff competition, however, there is no question that the Slimiest Senator Award goes to Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.). For Percy, Mansfield's statement was "clairvoyant," FBI chief Clarence Kelley had "demonstrated a desire and willingness to cooperate with Congress," and CIA head William Colby was a "great American . . . a great human being."

Colby responded in kind, describing Percy as "one of our best customers—in the use of agency material."

Flustered only momentarily, Percy reciprocated, "As a customer, I must say that the price is right and you haven't overcharged at all."

* * *

The Senate voted January 22 to ratify two international treaties on the granting of political rights to women. One resolution was originally signed in 1948 and presented to the Eighty-first Congress (1949-50); the other was signed in 1953 and presented to the Eighty-eighth Congress (1963-64). Both votes—bless the senators' hearts—were unanimous.

By Andy Rose

WASHINGTON—The strike at the *Washington Post*, now entering its fifth month, has become a crucial test of strength between the union movement and the employers.

The striking press operators and other printing-trades unions are up against not only *Post* owner Katherine Graham but the entire newspaper publishing industry. And the publishers have the approval and support of the rest of the employing class.

A front-page feature in the January 23 *Wall Street Journal* stated—with scarcely concealed glee—that “the strike could have a lasting effect on the operation of U.S. newspapers. It could break the powerful independence that craft unions have at many papers. And it could ultimately lead to the weakening of the Newspaper Guild, which represents many other news employees.”

Craft skills outmoded

The battle at the *Post* follows the pattern of newspaper strikes in other cities where the publishers, aided by the introduction of new mechanical processes in the printing industry, have destroyed the craft unions that once were able to control composing rooms and presses.

Such control has now slipped beyond the grasp of the skilled typesetters, compositors, photoengravers, and press operators, their skills replaced by automated equipment and the latest cold-type printing methods. Despite some unforeseen difficulties, the *Post* has been able to publish with every one of its craft unions honoring picket lines.

An employer source, *Inland Printer* magazine, predicts that “during the late 1970’s the make-up of an entire newspaper, including news pictures and display advertising, will be entirely electronic. Complete pages of a paper will be stored electronically and transmitted at will to remote computers for the production of a newspaper at any desired location.”

They admit that for many publishers this is far in the future. But they say, “In 1976, we will see further integration of editorial, classified, and display into electronic systems. Typesetters are faster and more versatile. The camera operation is being simplified and its need reduced. Platemaking is getting easier.”

This is what the *Post* management is counting on. It thinks time is on its side—that if it breaks the printing-trades unions now, it will have a bright future.

Bitter experiences

The dozen or so craft unions into which the printing trades are fragmented have learned slowly from the bitter experiences of the past.

Anthony De Andrade, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union during a 1960 strike against two Portland dailies, the *Oregonian* and the *Oregon Journal*, wrote in the *American Pressman* about that long and bitter fight:

“A thing of value that has emerged from the struggle in Portland,” he said, “is a realization of the dependency, one upon another, that exists among the printing trades unions, and the vital necessity for unity of thinking and unity of action, if not actual merger, in order that the strength of the employees may equal that of management.”

For lack of that united strength, the Oregon strikers were defeated. The “Oregon pattern” was used by publishers to break strikes in Los Angeles, Dallas, Kansas City, Miami, and Oklahoma City.

The publishers have not always been so successful. In Detroit, New York, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland the newspaper owners have provoked months-long strikes, closing down the daily papers in those cities and causing a news blackout, without being able to destroy the unions.

The press operators at the *Post* were aware that their skills had been eroded, though to a lesser extent than printers and other crafts. Patrick Owens, a columnist at *Newsday*, writing in the journalism review [MORE], says of the press operators:

“They operate on machinery the same in its essentials as it was 50 years ago. But the new presses are more complex, on the one hand, and simpler to operate, on the other. Their innards are beyond the ken of the average pressman. Yet their actual operation requires donkey work rather easily learned.

“And the erosion of the value of craft skills has been cumulative in its effect. It was one thing for a newspaper to think of replacing all its craft workers in, say, 1950. It is another to appre-

sturnably than others. The most frustrating kind are those imposed by archaic union practices that deprive the company of savings we ought to achieve from modern technology. This is a problem we are determined to solve. . . .”

Patrick Owens, in the article quoted earlier, estimates the *Post* could shift two million dollars a year from wages to profits by getting rid of the press operators union.

With precisely that in mind, the *Post* began in 1973 to send nonunion and executive personnel to a special scab-training school in Oklahoma City—maintained by an alliance of antiunion publishers—for a three-week course in operating the presses.

A new, hard-line policy was signaled by management’s refusal to settle

reach pre-strike standards in either respect.

The *Post* strike has prompted renewed calls for the newspaper unions to go beyond the outmoded craft setup. Patrick Owens writes, “The only union structure that made any sense in this new world was what is called industrial unionism, in which all employees in a single place of business are members of a single union.”

The indicated first step toward such unity is a massive, united defense of the *Post* strikers.

Post management’s position is that the strike is over. The press operators are fired. One hundred scabs have been hired to replace the strikers permanently.

Continuing its divide-and-rule strategy, the *Post* is pursuing separate negotiations with the other crafts. It has reached an agreement with the paperhandlers, who are represented by Local 449 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, the same international union as the press operators.

Although the agreement has not been signed because of pressure from the international union, many of the paperhandlers have returned to work.

In addition, the minority of *Post* guild members supporting the strikers has dwindled from 200 to 90.

The strikers have the official support of the Greater Washington Central Labor Council, which sponsored a demonstration of 2,000 around the *Post* building last December. They have called for a boycott of the *Post* and have picketed businesses that advertise in it.

Such activities have undoubtedly had an effect on the *Post*, but so far not nearly enough to bring the publishing giant to terms.

Ad hoc committee

At the end of December, an open letter to *Post* management was issued by an ad hoc Committee for a Fair Settlement. Carefully avoiding endorsement of the press operators’ cause, it called only for a return to “continuous negotiations” and, if that failed, for binding arbitration.

The appeal was signed by AFL-CIO President George Meany and other union leaders, along with an array of Democratic politicians that included Senators George McGovern and Hubert Humphrey.

Management spurned the appeal, saying renewed bargaining would only raise “false hopes of a settlement.”

When copies of the open letter were distributed later as part of the boycott effort, the committee’s Democratic party endorsers showed their true colors by repudiating the strikers.

“If we had known this would happen, we wouldn’t have signed it,” Humphrey’s office announced.

It is clear the *Post* strikers cannot rely on fair-weather “friends” in the Democratic party to win a favorable settlement of their strike. That will take the mobilization of the power of the unions in massive rallies, demonstrations, pickets, and boycotts.

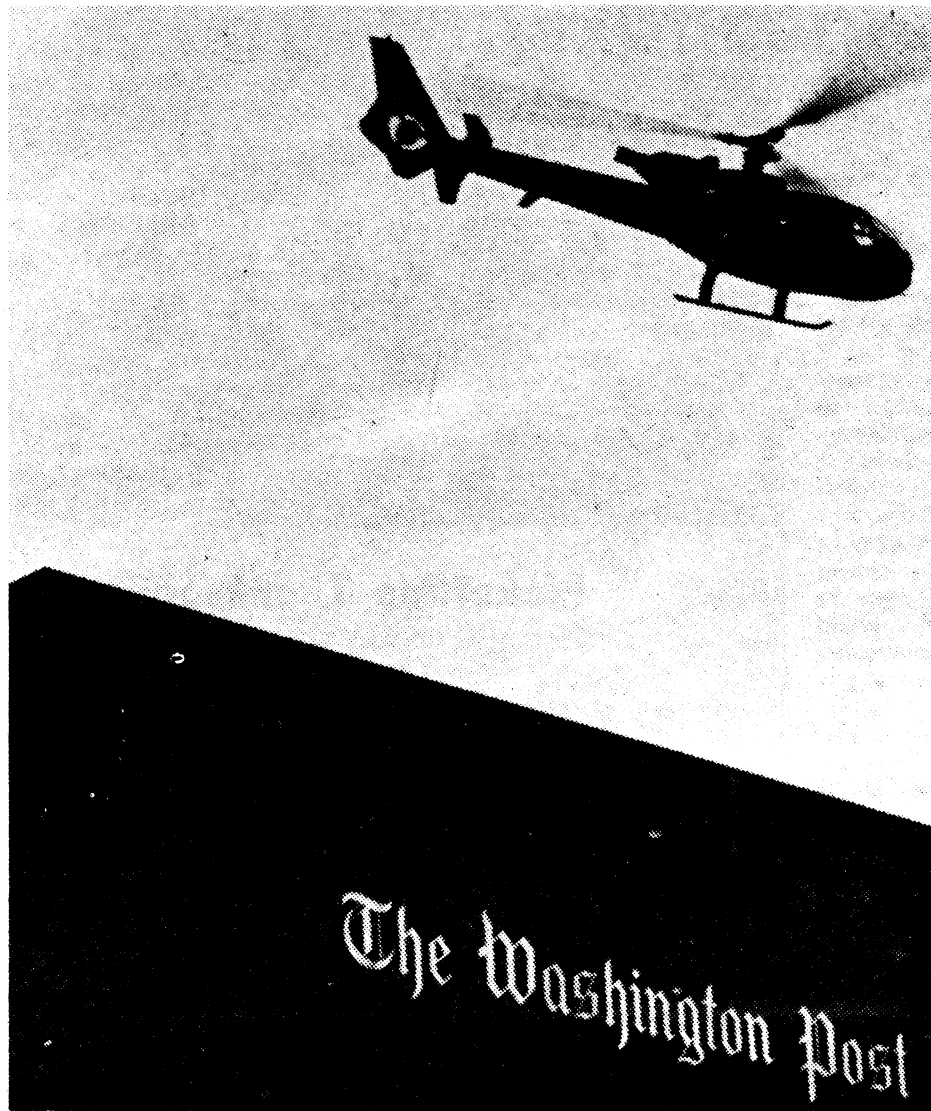
The cause of the *Washington Post* strikers should become the cause of the entire labor movement, for the entire labor movement is under attack.

At this point the strikers appear to be in a weak position. But the unions have not yet tapped the full measure of their reserves.

If the heavy battalions of the labor movement from such unions as the steelworkers and building trades, which have pledged support, were moved in to challenge the strikebreakers at the *Post*, there is little doubt that the tide of battle would change in their favor.

But this goes beyond the methods to which the AFL-CIO leadership has become accustomed. It can only come about with the conscious recognition that the *Washington Post* strike has developed into a test of class strength and determination—the working class and its allies against the economic and political power of the employing class.

D.C. ‘Post’ strike: test of class strength



Newspaper Guild Reporter

Helicopters ferrying scabs into ‘Post’ give it appearance of besieged fortress

ciate, in 1975, that only a few highly skilled people will be required to supervise semi-skilled grunts in the pressroom and in a newspaper’s other mechanical departments.”

The management of the *Washington Post*, aware of the shifting relationship of forces, decided more than four years ago to bring the unions to heel.

‘Maximizing profits’

Pulitzer Prize-winning press analyst Ben Bagdikian wrote about the *Post* strike under the title “Maximizing Profits at the Washington Post” in the January issue of *Washington Monthly* magazine. He quotes owner Katherine Graham as telling a meeting of securities analysts in January 1972:

“The first order of business at the Washington Post is to maximize the profits from our existing operations. . . . We are doing it by cutting costs. . . . Some costs resist more

grievances. Then, with the press operators’ contract due to expire September 30, 1975, the *Post* management systematically set out to provoke a strike.

It demanded contract concessions it knew the union could not accept, including a staff reduction of 40 to 45 percent, elimination of all union control over pressroom procedures, and freedom to bring in nonunion labor.

When the press operators struck on October 1, all the other crafts walked out in support.

The Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, representing reporters and other white-collar workers, also backs the strike. But the majority of the *Post* unit of the guild refused to respect the picket lines, and some guild members are playing a crucial role in enabling the *Post* to continue publication.

Gradually the paper has increased in size and improved in quality, but after four months it has not been able to

Nat'l City Chicanos to file suit

Watergate tactics used to stop recall drive

By Don Sorsa

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—At a news conference January 28, the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights charged the city administration here with an illegal campaign to stop the growing movement to recall the mayor and city council. According to Herman Baca, chairperson of the committee, "There have been Watergate-type activities by the officials in an attempt to deny us our rights and deny us due process of law."

Affidavits submitted by several people involved in the recall campaign

document police harassment of committee supporters while registering people to vote and numerous violations of the California election code.

The mayor of National City, Kile Morgan, and two city council members, Michael Dalla and Luther Reid, are slated for recall by the committee. The remaining two council members are up for election in March and cannot be recalled. The committee is running two candidates against them, Jesse Ramirez and Oscar Cañedo.

The recall campaign began in mid-November with the goal of obtaining

1,756 signatures (25 percent of the registered voters in National City).

One week before the petitions were submitted, a supporter of the committee was given a note by Ione Campbell, the city clerk in charge of checking the recall petitions. In the note Campbell said, "Be sure your attorney goes over the whole procedure before petition is filed. 'They' will try to knock it out on a technicality."

After the petitions were turned in, the "technicality" was used. Campbell had given the committee a precinct map to use for determining the precinct for each signer. This map showed eighteen precincts.

However, she checked the recall petitions with a later map showing forty-four precincts and declared the names with incorrect precinct numbers to be invalid. Using this procedure, less than a third of the signatures were considered valid.

When interviewed in her office by local CBS affiliate KFMB, Campbell admitted writing the note, saying that she thought her office was bugged and didn't want to say it out loud. She couldn't explain why she gave the wrong precinct map to the committee in the first place.

Another attempt to discredit the signatures was the charge that the petitions were signed by "aliens." It is impossible to know whether the people who signed the petitions are citizens. This charge is another attempt to divide and discredit the hundreds of people who worked on the recall campaign and the almost 2,000 people who signed the petitions. Racist charges against workers without papers in National City are a common

tactic of the administration.

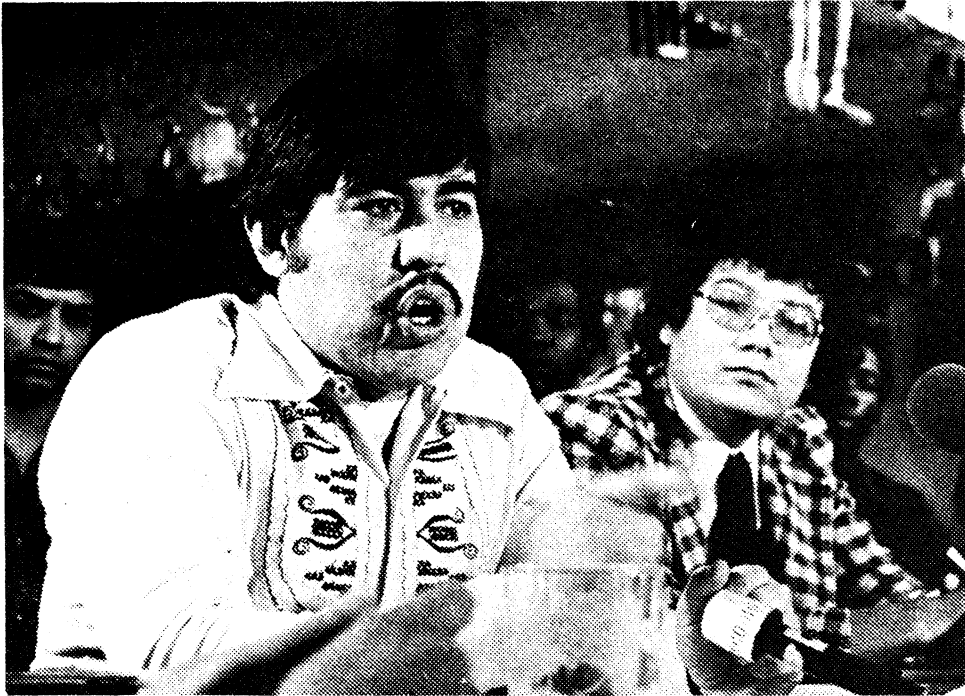
In response to these illegal actions by the city, the committee is preparing a suit to demand the signatures of all registered voters be validated, regardless of the precinct number assigned to their name.

"Everything the ad hoc committee has done has been totally legal and aboveboard," said Baca. "Our books have always been open for inspection by anybody; we have done nothing illegal. They tell us to work within the system and look what happens when we follow their laws and their regulations. This is exactly why we want to recall the entire city council, and that is why the community is giving us so much support and backing."

The recall effort grew out of a cop murder of a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican, Luis Rivera. After massive community pressure through meetings, marches, and petitions, the cop was indicted on charges of manslaughter but was acquitted in a sham pretrial hearing. The refusal of the city council to take any action around this injustice convinced the committee and the Chicano community to replace the city administration.

Within one month the recall effort gained the support of more than one-quarter of the National City voters.

"We will be here one way or the other. Whether we win, lose, or draw. They can't get rid of us that easily. We plan to stay here and fight and see that justice is done for our community." That's the position taken by Baca and other leaders of the committee. Their activities and future plans show their determination to achieve that goal.



Militant/Joseph Ryan

National City, California, Chicano leader Herman Baca speaking to January 28 news conference. Chicanos began campaign to remove mayor and city council after racist police murder.

Blocks funds for balloting

Calif. legislature cripples farm labor board

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The agribusiness-Teamster conspiracy has mounted a concerted drive to bury California's farm labor law providing secret-ballot union representation elections for field hands.

On January 28 a coalition of Republicans and farm-area Democrats in the state legislature blocked passage of a \$3.8 million appropriation needed to keep the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) functioning until July 1.

If money is not appropriated, the board, which conducts the representation elections, will become virtually defunct by February 6 when its present operating funds run out.

The law, which went into effect this past August 28, was enacted on the basis of an agreement that Democratic Gov. Edmund Brown worked out between the growers, Teamsters, and United Farm Workers. Now, after five months of the law, the growers and Teamsters are having serious second thoughts.

The growers and Teamsters are charging that the statute is weighted in favor of the UFW and that the ALRB is biased toward the UFW.

The reality is, however, that the growers and the Teamsters underestimated the support the UFW could mobilize among the field hands. The UFW has come out ahead in the elections held to date (see box), despite widespread coercion and fraud and despite the persistent failure of the



Stoop labor

ALRB to halt the massive violations of the farm labor law.

The results have been particularly disastrous for the growers in the key Imperial Valley area. Of twelve elections held there since December 1, the UFW has won eleven.

The growers have indicated they will go along with an allocation of funds for the ALRB if the law is amended to include the following points:

- Reverse the board's ruling—upheld by the state supreme court—permitting union organizers access to the workers in the fields and labor camps during nonwork periods if an election is pending. This would be a crippling blow to the UFW, which often has no other opportunity to reach

the workers.

- Extend the present one-week deadline for holding an election after a petition has been filed to three weeks. Often such an extension would mean the harvest would be over and the peak work force laid off by the time the election is held.

- Eliminate the proviso that growers are liable for back wages if the board finds them failing to bargain in good faith after a union has been certified.

Governor Brown has asked the legislature to make the funds available for the continued functioning of the board, indicating he would be amenable to revision of the law afterward. The influential *Los Angeles Times* has stated editorially that it favors the same approach.

Clearly, if the law is amended along the lines demanded by agribusiness, it would be reduced to a total fraud.

Even as now written, the law is weighted in favor of the growers and Teamster bureaucrats.

The UFW, which long campaigned for a law guaranteeing farm labor elections, was pressured by Brown into accepting a number of unfavorable revisions at the time it was adopted.

On the day the state senate voted down continued appropriations for the ALRB, 1,000 Farm Workers and their supporters massed in front of the state capitol.

After the vote, UFW counsel Jerry Cohen told the assembled workers that

the union would continue the fight. If the legislature failed to act, he declared, the union would secure the necessary petition signatures to place a proposition on the state ballot so that the voters could directly enact a farm labor law.

And, he added, if the UFW did present such a proposition to the voters, they would write the law as it should be written.

Election results

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 29—A representative of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board said today that 401 union representation elections have been held since the farm labor law was enacted.

There have been a total of 43,608 votes cast. Of these, 20,873 were won by the United Farm Workers and 10,703 by the Teamsters.

Of the 401 elections held, the UFW has won 193 against 119 for the Teamsters.

"No union" won in twenty-four elections, and eighteen went to a third union. The remaining elections will be determined by the rulings on challenged votes.

The most important of these is the Gallo vineyards election where an ALRB ruling on challenges is awaited.

School board threatens layoffs

Newark teachers on strike for decent pay

By Roberta Scherr

NEWARK, Feb. 3—To cheers from the 1,000 teachers who had assembled after picket duty, Newark Teachers Union leaders announced this morning that their strike was 80 percent effective.

Morale at the meeting was high as teachers in the crowd shouted out reports on their schools:

"Webster—forty out of fifty are out."

"Seventh Avenue—thirty-five out, fourteen in."

"Mt. Vernon—fifty-three out of fifty-five."

On Sunday night, February 1, the teachers had voted by a nine-to-one margin to strike Monday morning rather than work without a contract. The strike-vote meeting was attended by 2,300 of the 4,000 members of the Newark Teachers Union, American Federation of Teachers Local 481.

Teachers are asking for an across-the-board salary increase of 30 percent to make up for soaring prices since their last contract was signed in 1972. They also want a cost-of-living clause with quarterly adjustments. Salaries now start at \$9,500 a year.

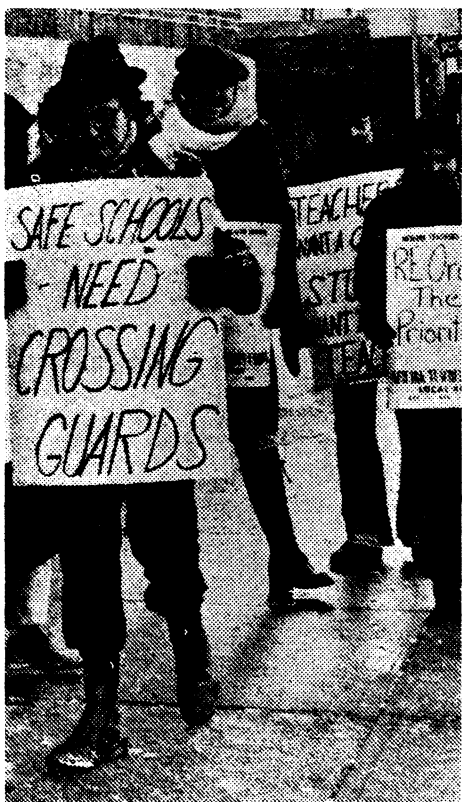
The school board, raising the specter of "another New York," flatly rejects this demand and insists there is no money for any pay increase.

School funding in this predominantly Black and Puerto Rican city is hopelessly inadequate to begin with. Of New Jersey's ten largest school districts, Newark ranks ninth in the percentage of taxes spent on education.

Gibson threatens layoffs

Mayor Kenneth Gibson, a prominent Black Democrat, says the only alternative to the pay freeze is teacher layoffs. In fact, Gibson has already laid off more than 500 city employees, including some teachers.

A member of the union negotiating team told the *Militant* Sunday night that the board is proposing more layoffs that will primarily affect the bilingual teachers, long-term substitutes, and aides. Cutbacks and a longer school day are also planned by



Teacher pickets at Roberto Clemente Elementary School protest cutbacks.

the board, the teacher said.

To implement its budget-cutting assault on education, the school board has brought in a special team of outside negotiators. The head of the group, Gerald Dorf, is also attorney for the New Jersey School Boards and the New Jersey State League of Municipalities.

These antiunion mercenaries are called "minutemen" by the teachers because they get one dollar a minute for their services. Teachers are outraged by this lavish outlay at a time when the board is pleading poverty.

NTU leader Pietro Petino told this morning's strike meeting that negotiations, which were broken off Sunday night, resumed on Monday and continued all night. But Petino said he could not report anything about the content of the talks, because both the union and the board had agreed to secrecy.

He did say that any settlement would include a pledge of no reprisals against striking teachers.

Petino also reported that the Service Employees International Union, representing custodians, guards, and maintenance workers, had agreed not to cross teachers' picket lines. Operating engineers, who fire the school boilers, have not yet agreed to honor the strike.

The school board's belligerent attitude was underlined when it announced it would seek contempt-of-court citations against the teachers for violating a permanent antistrike injunction—issued in 1970!

During bitterly fought strikes in 1970 and 1971, NTU President Carole Graves and other union officers were jailed and the union heavily fined.

While the board sought to have the strike declared illegal, Newark Police Director Hubert Williams announced a mobilization of cops at all schools. "Anyone who intends to violate the law will confront the power of the police," Williams threatened.

Teachers have appealed for support from the Black and Puerto Rican communities. In a major gain, the strike has won the backing of Elayne Brodie, chairwoman of the Title I Parents Advisory Council. During the 1971 strike, Brodie was among the many Black leaders who strongly opposed the union.

Lack of Black community support, caused mainly by the NTU's failure to back demands for Black control and more Black teachers, was the key weakness of that earlier strike.

Socialist declares support

Support for the teachers has also come from Larry Stewart, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from Newark's Tenth District—the seat now held by Democrat Peter Rodino.

Stewart said the Newark teachers, like their colleagues across the country, have been forced to take action "to defend their standard of living and a decent education for all students."

Stewart, who announced his candi-

dacy last month, is a fifty-five-year-old Black rights leader and a member of Teamsters Local 560.

The socialist candidate said the teachers' demands "could easily be met if the federal government would stop spending over \$100 billion a year to interfere in the affairs of other countries, like Angola, and allocate that money for education and social services."

He called for the united support of the labor movement and the Black and Puerto Rican communities for the teachers.

Twenty teachers at the strike-vote meeting bought copies of the *Militant*, and hundreds more took copies of the SWP action program, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

At this morning's meeting, copies of Stewart's statement were distributed. "You've got my vote," said one teacher after reading the statement. He invited Stewart to speak to his social studies class.



SWP's LARRY STEWART: 'Money for schools, not for war budget.'

'Hard Times' conference draws 2,000

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—A national conference called to discuss how to fight back against "hard times" drew nearly 2,000 people here on the weekend of January 31-February 1. Most of the participants were radical activists and represented one or another left-wing group, radical "collective," socialist women's group, underground newspaper, or community organization.

The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, a group led by former members of the old Students for a Democratic Society, played a leading role in initiating and organizing the conference. Also playing a prominent role were members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP), the Workers World party, Youth Against War and Fascism, and CASA, an antideportation group centered in Los Angeles.

The conference voted to support the demonstration called by the Puerto Rican Socialist party and other organizations for July 4 in Philadelphia for a "bicentennial without colonies." It also decided to hold actions April 15—the date income-tax forms are due—to demand jobs for all and the use of tax money to pay for jobs and social services, not the military.

Another action was set for November 1, centering on the demand to free the five Puerto Rican Nationalist party prisoners, who have been in U.S. prisons for more than twenty years.

There were workshops on subjects

ranging from education and child care to organizing in the prisons.

A caucus of more than 300 women voted to support the national demonstration called by the National Organization for Women demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, set for this spring in Springfield, Illinois.

The conference as a whole approved the women's caucus proposal, as well as proposals to support actions around Angola, the annual Christopher Street action for gay liberation, and activities on International Women's Day, March 8.

Support was also registered for many other struggles, including the fight against the Rodino bill by undocumented workers, the repressive S-1 legislation now pending in Congress, and forced sterilization.

A delegation from the American Indian Movement was present, and AIM leaders Vernon Bellecourt and Ellen Moves Camp spoke on the government repression of their movement at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

The conference began with a "people's tribunal" where "testifiers" and "judges" indicted and convicted U.S. capitalism for its various "crimes against the people."

Many conference participants were critical of certain undemocratic features of the conference, including the very limited plenary discussions. Some of the Black delegates formed a caucus

and threatened to walk out unless their criticisms were heard in a plenary session.

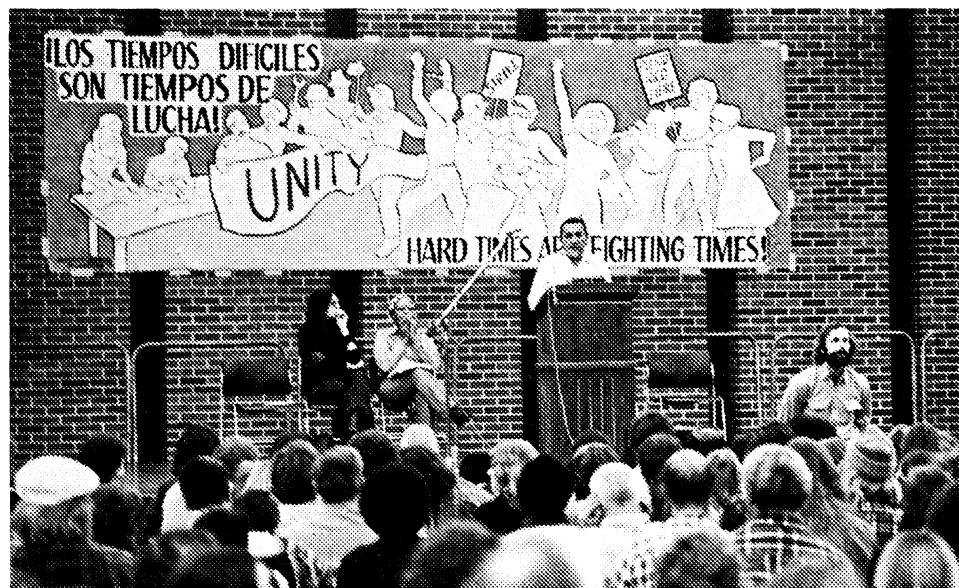
The caucus pointed out that the "Hard Times Bill of Rights" proposed by the conference organizers listed Black demands under such categories as "labor" or "the whole people." They demanded that the conference support the right of Black people to self-determination.

Since other caucuses and many workshops had criticisms or additions to the "Hard Times Bill of Rights," the organizers put off its adoption pending

further discussion.

Socialist Workers party campaign supporters participated in workshops and discussions at the conference, stressing in particular their support for united actions around issues such as busing, the ERA, Angola, and the July Fourth demonstration in Philadelphia for independence for Puerto Rico.

Most conference participants received a copy of the Socialist Workers party's "Bill of Rights for Working People," the campaign platform of the party's presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Pedro Grant, trade-union leader from Puerto Rico, addresses conference

Case of cold-blooded murder

Black youth shot down by Minnesota cop

By Greg Cornell

MINNEAPOLIS—The murder of a twenty-one-year-old Black man by a white cop in a Minneapolis suburb has touched off a series of meetings and protests here.

Eric Benford was shot down by an Eagan, Minnesota, police officer at 2:00 a.m. January 13 outside a gas station.

Benford was unarmed and had his hands raised in the air when the cop, George Kasat, fired without warning. It was cold-blooded murder.

An all-white Dakota County grand jury met for three days last week, but failed to indict the cop.

The killing of Benford and the grand jury inaction have stirred widespread outrage in the Minneapolis Black community, where police brutality is a daily fact of life.

Leading the protests is Robert Benford, Sr., father of the slain man. The elder Benford is former civil rights director for Minneapolis and a prominent member of the Black community.

He and his sister, Martha Smith, called a vigil outside the government center where the grand jury was meeting, and more than 200 turned out.

Benford has vowed to continue the fight to get justice, so that future

killings of Blacks and Indians will be prevented.

"This is not only happening to our family, it's happening to other families," Benford told a rally at the New Way, a Black group on the city's north side. More than 100 people, nearly all Blacks, turned out for the rally.

Benford is asking that a federal grand jury be convened to investigate the killing of his son.

Spike Moss, a leading Minneapolis Black activist and director of the New Way, announced a march and vigil outside the federal building the day Benford meets with the U.S. attorney's office to request the federal grand jury investigation.

Moss told the rally that 200 years after a Black man was among those who died in the battle of Lexington, Blacks were being attacked in Boston by racist mobs and Benford was being shot down in Minnesota.

"We're talking about murder," Moss said. He said that Eagan Township should be renamed "Eager to Kill Niggers Township."

Robert Benford, Sr., has been taking affidavits from witnesses about the shooting. This is what happened:

Eric Benford and some friends left a bowling alley after an evening together. About 2:00 a.m. they stopped at a

gas station to go to the bathroom. Gas station proprietors called police, alleging that a woman in the Benford group had shoplifted some food. When Eric Benford's brother, Robert, Jr., came out of the men's room, he saw Eric backing away from a cop.

"It all happened within five minutes," Robert Benford, Jr., told a reporter. "I was walking out of the washroom, and Eric was scuffling with three cops who were pulling on him. The three cops backed off and Eric pulled loose and raised his arms as if to keep them away, and the cop in the middle drew his gun and shot him, just like that—no warning or nothing."

No shoplifting charges have been brought since the shooting.

Robert Benford, Sr., spoke at a meeting of the Minneapolis NAACP, which voted to give full financial and legal support to the case. "We are with you in your effort to try and make a difference," Art Cunningham, president of the NAACP branch, told Benford.

The Militant Forum in Minneapolis has scheduled a meeting on the case for February 6. Speakers will include Robert Benford, Sr.; Martha Smith; Spike Moss; Sam Richardson, president of the NAACP State Conference; John Poupert, project director of the



Eric Benford as private in U.S. Army

Anishinabe Longhouse; and August Nimtz, a University of Minnesota professor.

Noticeably absent in the protests against police brutality have been the voices of the state's leading politicians. Gov. Wendell Anderson and Senators

Continued on page 26

Indians face phony weapons charges in Ore.

By Fred Auger

PORTLAND, Ore.—Two supporters of the American Indian Movement, Russell Redner and Kenneth Loudhawk, will go on trial in March in this city's federal district court.

They are facing frame-up charges of possession and interstate transport of illegal firearms and explosives, stemming from a police assault against them and two companions last November 14.

According to Steve Saugee of the Lou Hawk-Redner Offense/Defense Committee, it all began when the Portland FBI heard from "reliable informants" that Dennis Banks, a national leader of AIM, and Leonard Peltier were traveling "in convoy" in a mobile home and station wagon. Both were being sought at the time by federal officials.

An Oregon state police officer spotted two vehicles fitting the description November 14 near the town of Ontario in eastern Oregon. Loudhawk and Redner were in the station wagon, and two Indian women, Anna Mae Aquash and Darlene Nichols, were traveling in the mobile home.

The cop pulled the vehicles over and

arrested the occupants. At that time, police claim, an Indian man, possibly Peltier, fled, and while jumping over the fence managed to shoot at the cop.

The cop says he returned fire with his shotgun. The shots went directly



AIM supporters Kenneth Loudhawk (left) and Russell Redner under arrest.

over Nichols and Aquash, forcing them to roll repeatedly on the ground to avoid being hit. Nichols was eight months pregnant at the time and had a fifteen-month-old baby with her.

While the shooting was going on, police claim someone drove off in the station wagon, and that they subsequently found it abandoned a mile down the road. Police claim Banks was the driver of the vehicle.

On November 17, the FBI announced that it found seven cases of dynamite in the back seat of the station wagon. The November 19 *Idaho Statesman*, published in Boise, about fifty miles from Ontario, pointed out numerous holes in the FBI story:

- The FBI claims the dynamite was "visible through the back window" of the station wagon, but the car was not searched until three days after it was seized because the agents were waiting for a warrant.

- Two reporters and one editor were told separately by police officials before November 17 that the search was already under way.

- Polaroid photographs taken by the FBI show a side door of the car open, with one box in plain sight labeled

"Dupont," one company that manufactures dynamite. Several eyewitnesses who saw the vehicle the night it was seized agree that no such box was in plain sight.

The federal government has destroyed all the dynamite its agents claimed to have found in the car.

On November 24 the four Indians arrested on the scene, as well as Banks and Peltier, were indicted on nine counts of explosives and firearms charges.

Nichols was sent back to Kansas to face firearms charges in that state. Aquash was sent to South Dakota, also to face firearms charges.

According to Saugee, given the history of FBI infiltration and disruption of AIM, "it is not unlikely that the firearms were planted on that mobile home."

The defense committee is demanding "full disclosure" of the role of government informers in the case.

Saugee also accused the government of conducting a campaign of harassment and surveillance of defense lawyers and workers, as well as of relatives of the defendants.

Campus paper fights order to run ad for CIA

By Kris Huget

PORTLAND, Ore.—Student leaders at Portland State University held a well-attended news conference January 27 to blast university complicity with the CIA.

Appearing at the conference were Kathleen Hawkins, editor of the *Vanguard*, PSU's student newspaper; John Lemon, chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance; and a representative of the Organization of Arab Students. George Kontanis, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, also spoke.

Hawkins is currently waging a battle against the university administration, which is threatening to fire her, along with managing editor Ray Worden, for refusing to run a CIA and armed forces recruitment ad.

The news conference was held after revelations that the CIA spied on

student groups, including the YSA, on a number of U.S. campuses.

"The recent revelations concerning the domestic activities of the Central Intelligence Agency bring home to us the immense responsibility we have as journalists and as members of the academic community to expose and criticize those who would abuse our freedoms," Hawkins told the conference.

Lemon supported the refusal by the *Vanguard* editors to publish recruitment ads. "In supporting the editors, we oppose the attempts of any publications board, administration, or board to dictate or determine the contents of the newspaper; that is for the students to decide themselves."

The dispute over the publication of recruitment ads for the CIA and armed forces began last fall when the univer-

sity publications board voted to force Hawkins to publish the ads. The board is a committee of students, faculty, and administrators who act as publisher of the paper "on behalf of the academic community."

At the time of the vote, Hawkins maintained that the board, in ordering placement of a specific advertisement in the paper, was overstepping its authority and violating its charter.

Hawkins, in defending her decision, pointed out that "the paper is financed by student incidental fees which are allocated by a student committee. The paper is published by students for students."

Some reporters at the news conference expressed concern that by refusing to run the ads, the *Vanguard* was denying the CIA's freedom of speech. "Some people would say the socialists

are just as illegal as you say the CIA is," said one.

Hawkins responded angrily by pointing out that five congressional committees investigating the CIA have uncovered numerous illegal operations, "while in thirty years no one has been able to come up with anything on the Socialist Workers party."

Lemon added that no one was proposing to deny CIA representatives the right to speak.

"If the CIA wishes to debate its policies on campus, or use the *Vanguard* to explain its aims, or why its existence is necessary, we would not be opposed; in fact we would welcome such a debate. But the CIA is not coming on the campus to debate; their current attempt to use the *Vanguard* for recruitment makes this clear."

Denver Chicano leader convicted in frame-up

By Jack Marsh

DENVER—Juan Haro, vice-chairperson of the Crusade for Justice, was convicted here January 22 on fabricated charges of violating federal firearms laws.

The key witness against Haro was an accomplice to the alleged crime, self-confessed criminal and agent-provocateur, José Cordova.

Cordova's story was that he asked Haro for explosives and that Haro simply gave four grenades to him. No evidence was introduced to corroborate that Haro had possession of the grenades or that Haro had actually handed them to Cordova. Even a special federal undercover agent sent with Cordova to pick up the grenades did not testify that he had seen Haro with them or had seen Haro handing them to Cordova.



JUAN HARO: 'I have been found guilty in a court of law, not a court of justice.'

Under cross-examination, Cordova admitted that he became a police informer after an officer promised to drop drug charges against him and to try to get theft charges dismissed.

Newspaper reports indicate Cordova participated in burglaries at the behest of Denver cops, who would then move in and arrest his accomplices, letting Cordova go.

Cordova is facing assault charges from an April 15, 1975, shooting incident. These charges were filed in December after news reports indicated that Cordova had admitted to police that he had shot a man in the head.

Haro testified in his own defense. He called Cordova a liar and said that he had never given Cordova any grenades. Several other witnesses corroborated Haro's testimony that he did not keep grenades lying around in his gas station, where the alleged delivery took place.

Nevertheless, the twelve-member jury, which had no Chicanos on it, found Haro guilty after less than eighty minutes of deliberations. After leaving the courtroom, Haro said, "It was a frame-up. It was a political frame-up."

"Today I have been found guilty in a court of law, but not in a court of justice."

At a news conference following the trial, Crusade for Justice leader Ernesto Vigil told reporters that the conviction was a "temporary setback."

"We will not be intimidated by law enforcement officials, their huge financial budgets, or their political witch-hunts," Vigil added, "because justice is on our side."

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairperson of the Crusade, pledged that Haro's conviction would be appealed.

Haro is free on \$30,000 bail pending appeal of his conviction.

Haro is also facing state charges, along with Anthony Quintana, of attempting to dynamite a Denver police station last September. A key witness for the prosecution at the trial is expected to be Cordova.

Demand indictment of San Jose's killer-cops

By Roger Rudenstein

SAN JOSE—"Is this the way white police are going to celebrate the bicentennial—by murdering Mexicans?"

So read the placard carried by a Chicano protester. He was one of more than 600 Chicanos and supporters here who jammed a special meeting of the city council January 27 to protest the murder of Danny Trevino.

Trevino, a bartender, had been quietly talking to a woman friend in his car in front of her house following a quarrel. According to eyewitnesses, two white policemen, who had been called by neighbors during the argument, arrived and ordered Trevino and the woman, Maria Duarte, out of the car. When Trevino refused to get out, the cops opened fire at point-blank range, killing him instantly. Later the cops claimed Trevino had raised his arm as if he had a gun.

No weapon of any kind was found in the car.

The murder of Danny Trevino is the latest in a series of police assaults against Chicanos, Blacks, and other minorities in San Jose. In the past several years, five people have been gunned down by cops in the Chicano community. Countless others have been stopped for no reason and harassed by the police.

The demonstration at the council

hearing was organized by a coalition of groups, including La Confederación de la Raza, the Community Monitors, NAACP, WOMA (a Chicana organization), and the Mexican-American Community Services Association.

Among the coalition's demands were the convening of an open grand jury to indict the murderers, the immediate arrest of the two cops, and that the city pay damages to the widow and family of the victim.

Speaker after speaker denounced the atmosphere of police intimidation in San Jose as the crowd cheered enthusiastically. Ray Gonzales, secretary of the Confederación, said, "All of San Jose's establishment should be indicted for the brutal, senseless killing of Danny Trevino."

Henry Gage, president of the local NAACP, spoke of police harassment of the Black community. He recollected the case of John Henry Smith, a Black who was murdered by cops on his way to work several years ago.

Under pressure from the large protest, the city council gave in to some of the coalition's demands. The council voted to demand an open grand jury hearing and to form a committee consisting of leaders of the protesting organizations and several council members to conduct an investigation into the shooting.

Hundreds rally for ERA in three Arizona cities

By Leslie Dork

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Nearly 600 women and men rallied here at the state capitol January 30, demanding ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

A picket line of 150 ERA supporters chanting, "Equality is our right, ERA is our fight!" and "Ratify the ERA, equal rights in '76!" began at 10:30 a.m. By the time a rally got under way at noon, the crowd had swelled to nearly 600.

The rally was organized by the Arizona Coalition for the ERA and the Campus Coalition for the ERA at Arizona State University (ASU) in nearby Tempe. A simultaneous demonstration of 350 took place in Tucson. Another rally was held in Flagstaff.

Arizona ERA supporters aim to make Arizona join the thirty-four states that have already ratified the amendment. Thirty-eight must ratify the ERA by 1979 for it to become part of the Constitution.

Speakers at the Phoenix rally included representatives from the Arizona Education Association, Arizona Nurses Association, American Civil Liberties Union, League of Women Voters, Catholic Peace Fellowship, American Association of University Women, the Phoenix chapter of the National Organization for Women, Young Socialist Alliance, the Campus Coalition for the ERA, and many other organizations.

Also speaking were state AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Darwin Aycock, Phoenix city council member Rosie

Gutiérrez, and suffragist Adelaide Loomis. Shirley Odegard of the Arizona Coalition for the ERA chaired the rally.

Loomis was cheered as she told the crowd, "I have been working for the ERA for forty years—before many of you were born—but I welcome you to the struggle."

"We are hearing the same old arguments we were hearing when we were working for the vote," Loomis said. "Other bills have become the law of the land, and the ERA is going to become the law of the land."

The rally at the capitol culminated a series of actions, including a January 29 teach-in of seventy-five at ASU that was sponsored by the Campus Coalition for the ERA. Among the speakers at the teach-in was Joanne Della-Giustina, a coordinator of the Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA. "It's rallies and demonstrations and teach-ins like this one that will win ratification of the ERA in 1976," Della-Giustina told the teach-in. "To be successful, we need a nationwide effort that will involve every supporter of equal rights for women." Della-Giustina also spoke at the January 30 rally.

On February 2 the ERA was voted out of committee in the state senate. The senate as a whole is expected to vote on the amendment in mid-February. The Campus Coalition for the ERA is actively publicizing a March 8 ERA debate at ASU to commemorate International Women's Day.



Militant/Leslie Dork

Phoenix marchers demand that Arizona legislature ratify Equal Rights Amendment

Plan March 8 actions for ERA ratification

By Nancy Brown

Equal Rights Amendment supporters in cities across the country are making plans to celebrate March 8, International Women's Day. Unions, women's groups, Black organizations, and student committees are jointly organizing ERA activities for the weekend of March 5-8.

A January 29 meeting in St. Louis issued a call for a March 6 rally and conference for the ERA. Tentative plans call for a morning rally and downtown St. Louis march, followed by workshops.

A letter from the Ad Hoc International Women's Day Committee initiated the planning meeting. The letter was signed by leaders of the Communications Workers of America, American Federation of Teachers, United Auto Workers, Teamsters Local 688, National Council of Negro Women, National Organization for Women, Washington University Feminist Coalition, American Civil Liberties Union, and others.

At George Washington University in Washington, D.C., campus organizations have called for a March 8 ERA teach-in. They plan to involve other

colleges and women's, union, and Black organizations in the event. One of the featured speakers will be Addie Wyatt, national vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In San Diego, a January 28 meeting called by the ERA Task Force of CLUW resulted in the formation of San Diegans for the ERA. The group is planning an ERA action for the March 5-8 weekend.

ERA United in State College, Pennsylvania, is planning a March 13 rally and march. As part of the day's activities, State College NOW is organizing workshops around the theme, "200 years is enough!" They will discuss the ERA, abortion, day care, and other topics. The workshops will temporarily adjourn for the march.

In San Francisco a "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" will be held at Golden Gate Park on March 7. A speakers program and other activities will focus on the ERA and implementation of a child-care referendum passed in 1973. The event was initiated by NOW and Child and Parent Action, a group that organized for passage of the referendum.

Tom Hayden tackles 'the issues'

By Nelson Blackstock

LOS ANGELES—"Lawyers and politicians are trained in the art of deceit," Tom Hayden said. "You learn how to say two things at once."

He was addressing the Beverly Hills Democratic Club. Former student and antiwar leader Hayden is currently running for the Democratic party nomination for U.S. senator from California.

It was an off-the-cuff remark made while answering a question about why elected officials aren't honest with voters.

After hearing Hayden speak at three different campuses and before two separate Democratic clubs, I decided that he had learned his lesson well.

When I spoke with Fred Ruf, one of Hayden's top election strategists, he indicated the candidate had changed his thinking on some of the issues. Busing was one.

"These are people he has not gone to before," he explained, referring to the ex-radical's new constituency. "It's different than the antiwar movement."

Hayden makes that last point in his speeches. Only the way he tells it, the people he's been talking to are the ones who have changed their minds.

Busing

Tom Hayden doesn't like to talk about busing. That's a trait he shares with many other Democratic party office seekers this election year.

By contrast, Omari Musa, the Socialist Workers party candidate for Senate, has made the uncompromising defense of busing a central focus of his campaign.

Hayden never so much as mentions the word in his basic campaign talk. However, I was able to hear him express his views on busing during question periods on two separate occasions. Interestingly, both times he managed to duck the question the first time it was asked, only responding when a second member of the audience raised the question.

"As long as there are court orders that require busing after school districts have tried to get out of it," Hayden told the Beverly Hills Democrats, "I'm in favor of busing."

Not very forceful. Even outspoken opponents of busing will say that court orders must be obeyed.

"But I also think the buses are going

up a dead-end street," he continued, "because the underlying solution is not occupying racist white communities with federal troops and turning our children into front-line soldiers in a race war."

The real problem, he explained, is the economy—the lack of jobs and housing. The economic downturn is going to make things even worse.

"And you want to order school buses into that? I prefer to order jobs."

While such talk might draw applause from Beverly Hills Democrats—and it did—it does nothing to defend the Black community against the present racist assault.

What Hayden does is counterpose the struggle for jobs to the struggle for busing. The essence of such a position is to tell Black people to wait until there are more jobs before demanding a decent education for their children.

Worst of all, Hayden failed to offer any words of encouragement for the movement to defend school desegregation.

Omari Musa, on the other hand, has helped organize demonstrations in support of busing in Pasadena, a center of racist resistance.

Hayden's stand on the Equal Rights Amendment tends to parallel his position on busing. Again, it's not mentioned in his speeches.

A woman on a San Diego campus asked him about the ERA. The measure had recently been defeated in state referenda in New York and New Jersey.

"Everybody was surprised. I wasn't surprised," he proclaimed, "because the Equal Rights Amendment has a very middle-class backing. And it is easy to propagandize against the ERA and get people to fear that so-called professional women will piggy-back over and replace the man who has been on the job for twenty years, and then his family will fall apart."

This gives credence to arguments of reactionary ERA opponents who slander the ERA as a "middle-class woman's thing." As a matter of fact, working women stand to gain the most by its passage. Understanding that, the AFL-CIO, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and many other working-class organizations back the measure.

The reason the ERA was defeated is that there was no visible action cam-

paign for it—middle-class or otherwise—in those states. Too many ERA supporters chose to sit back and wait for Democratic party politicians to get it passed.

"I support it, but I think you have to say full-speed ahead on the centuries-old demand of women for equal rights and opportunities, and, at the same time, you have to restructure the economy to make sure there are opportunities for everybody else."

In other words, equal rights for women, like busing, are conditional on a simultaneous improvement in the economy.

A pattern emerges. Hayden says what is *really* needed is to solve the economic problems. He does this in very general, but often radical-sounding terms. Then, he turns around and gives—at best—only lukewarm support to concrete demands of the oppressed. A bid is thereby made to both progressive and reactionary sentiment. "You learn to say two things at once."

In reply to a question about welfare at one meeting, Hayden said he was against welfare because the *real* solution was to create a productive economy.

Taking the candidate at his word, one genuinely confused listener pointed out that while welfare has its failings, you really do have to provide some way to "take care of the poor" until the system is changed.

Economy

If the economy is the solution, does Hayden have any answers there?

He calls the Humphrey-Hawkins bill his "main legislative demand." Promoted as a solution to unemployment by a wide spectrum of Democrats and Republicans, it would actually do little more than establish a few new federal agencies and rename some that already exist.

"Jobs for all" is a top demand of the Musa campaign. The Black socialist proposes an emergency program of public works financed by getting rid of the \$100 billion war budget.

Hayden calls only for reducing military spending—not eliminating it—and has said that he doesn't "believe automatically that any defense contract ought to be cut."

Hayden's campaign speeches—and to a greater extent some of his

literature—are sprinkled with suggestions for more public control of the corporations, tax reform, and the like. But it's all kept extremely vague.

Another feature of Hayden's oratory is references to "the decline and fall of a set of economic rules we've been living under" and the need to find a "new philosophy."

On the surface this might come across as radical. But it also sounds a lot like what's being said by Democrats like California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown, Jr., Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, and Gov. Hugh Carey of New York.

This similarity was noticed by James Perry in a *National Observer* article last fall. "Our values must change, he says—and Governor Brown and other vanguard Democrats say the same thing, more or less."

These Democrats are the "vanguard" of a general assault on the standard of living of the American people. A special target is the social programs instituted in the 1960s.

It's hard to avoid the impression that Hayden is trying to join this vanguard. "I'm not defending the phony welfare programs of the sixties, which were designed to keep the lid on the ghettos and the barrios," he said at San Francisco State University.

The argument is true to form. While it's true the rulers hoped the program would dampen militancy, the programs also represented a gain for Blacks and Chicanos.

What it all boils down to is this: There is a broad ruling-class offensive against the American working people. The battle lines are being drawn over concrete issues—busing, the ERA, cutbacks in social programs. Political candidates must take a stand on one side or the other.

Omari Musa's campaign is unambiguously on the side of the working class. Hayden's is not.

'Free enterprise'

Hayden specifically rejects the call for socialism. Instead, he advocates "free enterprise." At a time when growing numbers of people are beginning to be open to the idea of socialism, Hayden drags out a term that was invented some years ago by big-business apologists who hoped to substitute it for the word capitalism, which had acquired a bad image.

"The working people will have to take the wealth of this country—the corporations and natural resources—out of the hands of the wealthy few and run it in their own interests," Omari Musa has said. "That's called socialism. The only alternative will be human destruction."

How did Hayden wind up running this kind of campaign? A clue can be found in an article he wrote for *Rolling Stone* last year:

"During the early Vietnam escalation," Hayden wrote, "I believed that our GIs, after killing Vietnamese, would all come home to kill peace demonstrators. . . .

"I also believed that the 'Middle Americans' and 'hardhats' would overwhelmingly support the war."

During the antiwar movement, socialists argued that this outlook was behind the frequent opposition of Hayden—and others like him—to mass, peaceful demonstrations aimed at winning those people over.

Hayden's campaign for Senate reveals he really hasn't changed. He shows no confidence in the ability of the working people of this country to come to grips with the source of their problems.

Fortunately, there is a campaign based on the perspective that the working class can and will discard this outdated system. That's the socialist campaign of Omari Musa.



Hayden talks to California Democrats: 'learning how to say two things at once.'

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

FEBRUARY 13, 1976

Seating of PLO is blow to Israel

United Nations debates Palestine issue

[The following is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

By David Frankel

From January 12 to 26, the United Nations Security Council debated the conflict between Israel and the Arabs. The participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in that debate was an important victory. It was a new blow to the Israeli colonial settler-state, which is more isolated than ever.

The Israeli regime responded by boycotting the debate, but this did nothing to relieve the growing pressure that was reflected in the 11-to-1 vote in favor of seating the PLO delegation. The mood in Israel after the PLO was invited to take part in the session was summed up by Chagai Eshed. He said in the December 5 issue of *Davar*, the daily of the ruling Labor party, that "Israel is in a political and military trap."

Eshed argued, "It can already be seen that within a short period Israel will turn from a boycotting state into a boycotted state. The number of states that recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people already exceeds the number of states that maintain diplomatic relations with Israel."

Low-keyed

In accordance with its policy of seeking to exploit new economic and political openings in the Arab world, the Ford administration tried to keep its defense of Israel low-keyed. In a January 19 speech, U.S. Ambassador Daniel Moynihan reiterated Washington's support for the earlier Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which make no mention of the Palestinian people or their rights, referring only to the "refugee problem."

Moynihan's speech, reportedly written in Washington and approved by Kissinger, lacked the "combative tone" of his earlier speeches, according to the report in the January 20 *New York Times*.

However, the mailed fist was not absent from the U.S. imperialist effort on behalf of Israel. Just three days before the debate opened the *New York Times* ran a front-page story, based on leaks from the State Department, describing how the Ford administration was linking votes at the United Nations on such questions as Zionism to cutbacks in U.S. aid programs.

Israeli officials were more direct in their threats, hinting openly at the possibility that they may try to resolve their current political difficulties by unleashing a new war. "Serious devel-



At heart of dispute is right of self-determination for Palestinians, whose homeland was seized by colonial settlers. Above are young Palestinian refugees.

opments might result" from the Security Council debate, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin warned January 4. He added that Israel had "sufficient military strength to provide it with room for political maneuver, but possibly we will have to give expression to this sooner than many think."

Chaim Herzog, Israel's chief ambassador to the United Nations, echoed Rabin's threat January 12, characterizing the debate in the Security Council "as a preparatory arena for a future war," and warning against a "downward rush to disaster."

Zionist groups in the New York area also gave their response to the appearance of the PLO at the United Nations. The opening day of the debate was marked by the discovery of three pipe bombs at the United Nations and two at the Iraqi mission to the United Nations.

But the tenacious struggle of the Palestinian people for their right to self-determination cannot be deterred by such threats and thuggery. The simple truth is that a whole people has

been expelled from its homeland in order to make way for Israel, and this fact has begun to penetrate the consciousness of the masses all over the world. That is what is behind Israel's increasing diplomatic difficulties. Every time Palestinians are enabled to appear and state their case before an international audience, it is a blow to the racist settler-state that has driven them out and now attempts to deny their rights as a people.

'Refugee problem'

The attitude of the imperialists toward the Palestinians was reflected in Security Council Resolution 242, which was passed after the 1967 Middle East war and reaffirmed after the 1973 war by resolution 338. This resolution listed the "refugee problem" as a subpoint after the necessity of "guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area."

While Washington insists that any new Security Council resolution on the Middle East be limited to the mention

of Palestinian "interests" as opposed to rights, even its closest imperialist allies in Western Europe and Japan have found this position untenable. On January 15, for example, British Ambassador Ivor Richard said that the "right of the Palestinian people to the expression of their national identity must also be recognized."

As this slippery formula indicates, the European imperialists are far from ready to spell out in detail what they mean by Palestinian "rights." However, one thing is clear: All the imperialist powers; the Soviet bureaucrats; and the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian regimes are agreed that the Palestinians must accept the Israeli state within "secure and recognized boundaries." This point has been reiterated in the proposals for a new Security Council resolution to replace 242 and 338.

There are obviously tremendous pressures on the PLO to give up its demand for a single state in Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews would live together. So far it has resisted this pressure and not abandoned its demand for a democratic, secular Palestine, although there have been numerous well-publicized equivocations by PLO leaders.

Essence of struggle

What is at issue here is the very essence of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. Colonial settlers do not have the right to seize the land of another people—either all of it or part of it—and set up their own state. That was the principle that was violated by the UN vote to partition Palestine in 1947, and that is the principle that is violated by those who call for the recognition of the Israeli oppressor state today.

This is not simply an abstract question of principle. As an imperialist country in its own right as well as a client of U.S. imperialism, Israel will continue to act as a military spearhead against the Arab revolution for as long as it exists. As a racist settler-state, Israel will also continue to oppress the Palestinians. And just like the white settler-states in southern Africa, Israel will continually be involved in aggression beyond its borders in order to maintain its existence.

Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's delegation to the United Nations, said in the January 22 *New York Times*, "Since 1948, the United Nations has passed innumerable resolutions reaffirming the rights of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property. The implementation of these resolutions has been impeded by the unilateral action of the Zionists who intend to increase and consolidate European Jewish settlements on Arab lands."

The conflict in the Middle East began with the invasion of Zionist settlers determined to build a Jewish state in an Arab land. It will end only when the Israeli Jews agree to live there together with the Palestinians, not at their expense.

Struggle for democratic rights

Spain after Franco: Revolutionary socialist discusses new situation

[The following interview with a leader of the Liga Comunista, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, was obtained December 29, 1975, by an *Intercontinental Press* correspondent in Europe.]

Question. What is the attitude of the Liga Comunista toward the new government of Juan Carlos? Do you see any significant change?

Answer. The new government is a continuation of Franco's. The jails are still filling up; there is no substantial change at the governmental level. There is, however, a changed relationship of forces. This past year has seen millions of workers on strike. Their whole thrust has been against the dictatorship. Just a few years ago most workers were openly anticommunist. Today all kinds of forces have entered into the struggle—students, petty-bourgeois layers, and peasants.

When the dictator died, an institution died. So they had to change their tactics. They began to talk about democratic changes. Of course this is only talk—they have said they will "study the problem" at the next session of the Cortes [Spanish parliament, controlled by the Falange]. They don't call for free elections, and for this reason we demand universal suffrage for all those over sixteen, a free vote for a constituent assembly, and the right of all political parties to work freely.

Only talk

Q. So they really haven't changed? A lot was made in the foreign press about Fraga's¹ "concerned" telephone call to the young woman in Seville shot by the police.

1. Manuel Fraga, the new minister of the interior, who is attempting to create a "liberal" image for the new government.

A. Yes, but it is only talk. The amnesty that many people thought Juan Carlos would announce on Christmas never came. The persecution of political parties continues. One worker, Ricardo Tellez in Barcelona, is near death after his torture by the DGS [Dirección General de Seguridad—General Directorate of Security].

Just the other day Fraga denounced the Workers Commissions² as fronts for the Communist party. Still, it is a two-sided picture, because the government has been too weak to stop the mobilizations since Franco's death. When Tierno Galvan³ speaks of socialism he gets public sympathy, even though he is a demagogue.

During the past two months, activists of the Workers Commissions have been able to speak openly as members without being arrested—radicals as well as people like Camacho.⁴ Of course there is no change, and we don't believe in the goodwill of the king. But we are going to take every opportunity to get our ideas across.

Q. For instance?

A. We have a special campaign to

2. Clandestine trade-union bodies in opposition to the state unions, the Central Nacional Sindicalista (CNS—National Federation of Syndicates).

3. Leader of the Partido Socialista Popular (People's Socialist party), which supports the Junta Democrática and has a notable composition of academics. Other components of the Junta include the PCE(i) (Partido Comunista de España-Internacional—Communist party of Spain-International, a Maoist grouping); the Coordinating Committee of the Workers Commissions (dominated by the CP); and the individual monarchist, ex-Opus Dei supporter Rafael Calvo Serer.

4. Marcelino Camacho, a leader of the Workers Commissions.

produce a fortnightly paper in the next few months. We can now sell 5,000 in the underground, and we think we can easily double this.

Amnesty

Q. Can you say something about the recent demonstrations for amnesty? What about the "indulto" [pardon] of Juan Carlos?

A. First, the pardon is a sham, a reaffirmation of Francoist legislation. The jails still fill up with people charged under the "antiterrorist" legislation of last August. (Under this, anyone even speaking or writing about an organization like the ETA⁵ can be imprisoned.) In December alone, 1,000 persons were arrested for violating this legislation.

About the demonstrations: The most important was at Carabanchel, an area of Madrid where upwards of 50,000 persons demonstrated for amnesty. The police cordoned off seven kilometers around the prison, so it is difficult to get exact figures. There have been thousands of workers on strike who made amnesty their central demand. There have been strikes and demonstrations in practically every Spanish city.

The police and army have been called on to intervene, but they have not been able to confront the demonstrators directly in every case, as there is a semilegal quality to the demonstrations. Even sectors of the bourgeoisie see the need to talk about amnesty. It is something people feel strongly about, and I think that if there is a powerful enough movement the government may be forced to grant an amnesty to avoid an even greater confrontation later on.

5. Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom).

Q. What is the exact position of the Liga Comunista on the question of amnesty?

A. Our party supports the fight for amnesty. We have led actions for it. But we don't view amnesty as a step toward the "national reconciliation" of all Spaniards as the Junta Democrática does. We believe that there should be no distinctions—that anyone repressed by the Franco regime should be included.

Furthermore, although we fight for amnesty we cannot pardon the crimes of Francoism. We call for the formation of democratic workers tribunals to judge the criminals. When the reformists speak of "reconciliation," they mean they don't want to fight against the Francoist apparatus. Amnesty doesn't mean leaving the criminals free to do what they like. We call for the disbanding of all the repressive bodies, like the Brigada Política Social [Political-Social Brigade, the Francoist political police], the Guardia Civil [Civil Guard, the riot police], and the armed police. We call for the dissolution of Franco's courts. For the abolition of not just the "antiterrorist" legislation but also the undemocratic laws that have been on the books for forty years now.

Q. What is the position of the Junta Democrática on this point?

A. The Junta Democrática is for leaving the Francoist apparatus intact, apart from one or two slight modifications. This is important, especially in view of the situation in Portugal. One of the first actions taken by the people was to demand that the PIDE⁶ be brought to trial. The Junta simply cannot recognize this democratic impulse.

Democratic rights

Q. How does your position on democratic rights differ from that of the Junta Democrática and the Convergencia?⁷

A. Well, the working class needs democratic rights. The bourgeoisie needs to talk about them. And the Junta Democrática may say it's for democratic rights, but that is not true.

Q. For example?

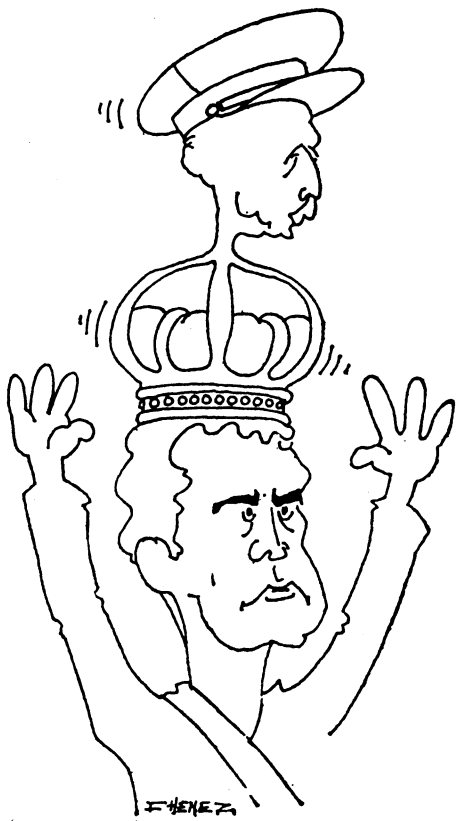
A. Take the national question. In Catalonia they call for the return to the statute of 1932, which was passed by the Republic. But they still recognize the central Madrid government and its right to legislate in crucial areas like the army and foreign affairs. We say that the peoples of Euzkadi, Catalonia, and Galicia should be able

6. Policía Internacional e de Defensa do Estado (International State Security Police, the Salazarist secret police.)

7. Convergencia Democrática (Democratic Convergence), the other main class-collaborationist bloc, which includes the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers party); the ORT (Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Organization); and the Christian Democrats, such as Ruiz-Giménez of the Izquierda Democrática Cristiana (Christian Democratic Left) and the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic party) of Gil Robles. Also the MCE (Movimiento Comunista Español—Spanish Communist Movement, a Maoist split-off from ETA), the Carlists, and the PNV (Partido Nacionalista Vasco—Basque Nationalist party).



Demonstrators demand release of all political prisoners. Amnesty for all victims of Franco regime is burning question in Spain.



to decide for themselves through national constituent assemblies what relationship to have with Madrid. Anything else would be undemocratic.

Second, the Junta and Convergencia view the army as part of the "democratic" process, and believe it can be called upon to support democracy. We say it is intrinsically undemocratic. We support democratic rights inside the army, and the setting up of soldiers assemblies.

Q. Isn't the CP supporting the UMD?

A. Yes, and the CP tends to support the UMD's program, which doesn't even include democratic rights for soldiers. The UMD is demanding a more professional army. They want to keep their official privileges, and they want more money. The CP says they are "friends of the people." We are giving unconditional support to the nine officers recently charged with sedition. The government is not even letting them be defended by civilian lawyers.

But I should like to finish on the question of the Junta and democracy. Perhaps what shows them up more than anything is their attitude toward the new government. For example, there is a new regime in Catalonia, much broader than the Junta: the Consell de Forces Polítiques [Council of Political Forces]. This council even announces its opposition to the prince—I mean the king! They are waiting to see if he will grant democracy. But this is the very moment to cash in on the governmental crisis and oppose its demagoguery.

Q. What is the difference between the Asamble de Catalunya⁸ and the new council?

A. The assembly is a much broader group, made up of neighborhood representatives, and dominated by the PSUC.¹⁰ The council comprises only representatives of political parties, some of them virtually unheard of.

8. Unión Militar Democrática (Democratic Military Union), a recently formed organization involving about 200 officers.

9. A popular-front-type organization formed in 1971.

Jordi Pujol, the vice-president of the Banca Catalana, is one of its leaders. Some council members demand abolition of the monarchy, but others give the king critical support. The CP, as the only working-class party represented on the council, is ambiguous on this point; and this prevents the formation of a mass movement.

Self-determination

Q. Would you say that what is happening in Catalonia is a preview of what will happen in other parts of the country? What do you think of the 1932 statute?

A. The bourgeoisie in Catalonia has always been much more advanced and shrewd than the bourgeoisie elsewhere. Catalonia has as a rule been in the vanguard of the struggle. Instead of the statute of 1932, we call for self-determination through a freely elected national constituent assembly. Such a body could resolve the culture questions and decide about the teaching of Catalan. This would be the first step toward achieving a Catalan workers state.

Interclass forces

Q. What is the difference between the Junta and the Convergencia? Could there be a coalition?

A. They are both interclass forces. But by calling for the "democratic break," the Junta appears to offer a democratic alternative. The Convergencia has the same program, but is viewed by some sections of the bourgeoisie as a potential threat to the CP. The big capitalists who do not support the dictatorship belong to the Convergencia.

But faced with the recent mass struggles, the Junta and the Convergencia have combined to try to suppress them. The Consejo Democrático [Democratic Council], which includes both, gives the king some critical support.

Q. Haven't the events in Portugal made this collaboration more difficult?

A. Not really. The Spanish CP, on the right, has been critical of the Portuguese CP. They claim that in Portugal the CP is not democratic, while in Spain the sort of alliances they are seeking are totally different. The bourgeoisie, of course, has been quick to see the useful role of the SP in the sixth provisional government, and the newspapers have tended to support

10. Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (United Socialist party of Catalonia), a branch of the Spanish CP.

it more than the CP. But in Spain the PSOE is not very strong.

Q. Is it growing?

A. Yes, it includes sections of the middle class. And some of its members are rapidly becoming radicalized. The youth group, the Juventud Socialista, has refused to support the Convergencia and has come out publicly against making alliances with the bourgeoisie. Some sections of the youth have declared themselves generally "Trotskyist."

Q. Back to the question of Portugal—what has been the effect of recent events there?

A. In general, the mass movement has grown in strength since the April 25 coup. There were demonstrations in every major city, especially in Seville. But the recent coup of the *izquierda inexistente* [nonexistent left] has caused great confusion in the vanguard here. We are trying to resolve this, but if the struggle in Portugal continues it will serve as a stimulus here—thus it is very important.

Q. What about an American presence in Spain?

A. Spain has had ties with Yankee imperialism for a long time. The Americans supported the government, and they hope to remain in Spain, especially in view of what is happening in Portugal. On April 25, when 2,000 U.S. marines landed in Seville, a local journalist who happened to write about their arrival was put in prison for I don't know how many months. The Americans intend to help the counterrevolution in Portugal. The last time Franco spoke, I think in October, he expressed the wish for a "return to law and order" in Portugal. And despite their lack of public support, the ELP¹¹ and the Spínolists maintain bases here.

Q. Hasn't the situation in Portugal provoked some differences inside the CP about Intersindical¹² and the role of the Workers Commissions?

A. There is a tendency in the Spanish CP that opposes the almost total support given to the fifth provisional government. *Nuestra Bandera* [theoretical organ of the Spanish CP] has run a public debate between Carrillo¹³ and

11. Exército de Libertação Portuguesa (Portuguese Liberation Army), the rightist underground forces led by General Spínola.

12. The Portuguese trade-union federation, dominated by the CP.

Camacho. Carrillo says that the workers should continue to work through the Central Nacional Sindicalista. Camacho thinks that the Workers Commissions should be reconstituted. The strengthening of the sindicatos through elections has meant the virtual destruction of the Workers Commissions everywhere, except in Euzkadi where they never got off the ground.

Q. So you think that the call for a boycott of the sindicato elections was correct?

A. Of course. It has been impossible for the sindicatos to defend the workers' interests. A big discussion is going on in the vanguard on this problem, and there is a movement that, although weak, is working against the CNS and even includes sections of the Stalinists.

Madrid events

Q. What about the recent events in Madrid?

A. During November, preparations were made for the December mobilizations, both in the factories and in the universities. The biggest strikes were in the metal industry, where there were from 50,000 to 80,000 on strike in places like Standard, Westinghouse, Simmons, particularly in the zone of Getafe. Many small firms came out.

There was an important strike on December 11 in the construction industry—more than 80,000 on the outskirts of Madrid. The Liga Comunista led some of the Workers Commissions' calls for a general strike in construction. The strikes had a dual purpose. On the economic front they were against the wage freeze [one of the king's first moves] and against *paro* [shutdown]. But the central issue was amnesty.

Metalworkers unions voted unanimously in favor of the December 7 demonstration at Carabanchel. Because of limited legal tactics available to the CNS and because slogans like, "Strike and everyone go home!" were used, the strikes were not centralized. There were meetings in each individual factory, and the CP refused to support the call for a general day of action, a *jornada*. The Liga Comunista called for a general strike in the metal industry and for demonstrations, stoppages, meetings, and elections of strike committees.

In the three universities of Madrid—the Autònoma, the Comprudencia, and the Polytechnic—there were continuous assemblies throughout December.

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Liga Comunista calls for disbanding entire Francoist apparatus. Marching above are members of Civil Guard

Peasant movement in Peru: Returning leader assesses changes



Hugo Blanco speaks to meeting in La Convención

[The following interview with Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco appeared in the December 4, 1975, issue of the Lima weekly *Marka*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. What changes do you find in the situation of the peasantry?

Answer. I have returned to Cuzco after a thirteen-year absence, and I have noticed great changes. The big landowners as such have practically disappeared. However, at the same time it is clear that the peasantry continues to live as miserably as before. This is one obvious contradiction. When you talk at greater length with the peasants, you realize that the form of exploitation has changed. Before, exploitation was more feudal; now it is capitalist exploitation. Now the struggle of the peasantry is a struggle against capitalism and the capitalist state.

I think that the basic demand now is no longer "Land or death" as it was then. Now it is "Socialism or death."

Independent organization

Q. What are your views on the leadership and program of the CCP?¹

A. With regard to the centralization of the peasants, when I reached Peru—despite the differences I had on some points with the compañeros leading the CCP—I told them directly that it seemed to me that the CCP was the biggest and most important centralizing organization the Peruvian peasant-

1. Confederación Campesina del Perú (Peruvian Peasant Federation).

try had had in its entire history. There is no doubt of this. There have been more explosive periods than this, for example, the period of 1962-63, but in terms of organization and centralization, the peasantry has never had a body of this type.

We Trotskyists support the CCP for two principled reasons. First, because it is an independent organization. And that is essential. We don't raise any questions about the political positions of the CCP. In fact, our fundamental criticism of the CNA² is not that it supports the government but that it is dependent on the government. It is a question of principle with us not to be part of such a state organization. On the other hand, in an organization that is dependent on the rank and file, we can disagree with the leadership but we will discuss our differences inside the organization. One point of difference that I have raised is on the character of our revolution. We say it must be a socialist revolution.

Q. What are your views on what is happening in Cuzco?

A. While they had named the Lares Agrarian League after me, in Cuzco it was being said that I was in Sinamos³ and with the FARTAC.⁴ Now the FARTAC and Sinamos are telling the peasants that since I went abroad, I reached an agreement with the Yan-

2. Confederación Nacional Agraria (National Agrarian Confederation).

3. Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (National Network for Supporting Social Mobilization), the bureaucratic apparatus set up by the government to control the mass movement.

A. We have branches in Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, Saragossa, Valladolid, Seville, Asturias, the Canary Islands, and in all four provinces of Euzkadi—Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, Aragon, and Navarra. The CP doesn't recognize Navarra as part of Euzkadi.

Q. Where are your forces concentrated?

A. We do a lot of work among the university youth and secondary-school students ["bachilleres"], as well as local youth. We are beginning to work among soldiers—not with officers but with young draftees. But we have not got very far with this yet.

kees to turn the land over to the big landowners. In addition, the ultraleftists and some leaders who fought us at the time of La Convención (1958-63) are now attacking us as supporters of Sinamos. They accuse the CCP of the same thing, of serving the government, and so on.

That is, among the peasantry of Cuzco there are two divisive forces. One is made up of the government supporters who, with money from Sinamos, create artificial organizations. The other is the ultraleftists, who try to lead an organization and if they can't, leave and form their "mini-confederation" with five peasants and five Quechua-speaking students. We are confident that the ranks of the peasantry will know how to defeat these two divisive forces.

Anti-imperialist front

Q. At the current time, when the reactionaries are mounting an anti-Communist offensive and the government is forming a defense front, what is your opinion on the goal of forming an anti-imperialist front?

A. There is talk of threats from the ultraright. You see the offensive against *Equis*, *Oiga*, and all those magazines. But I believe that the fight to defend the interests of the masses and the fight against a threatened right-wing coup follow the same course. That is, the way to fight against the threat of a coup is to fight for a general amnesty, for the defense

4. Federación Agraria Revolucionaria "Tupac Amaru II" del Cuzco (Tupac Amaru II Revolutionary Agrarian Federation of Cuzco).

In the working class our priority is the metal industry, in which we have workers from all of our locals, although they are unevenly distributed. Even though we have more trade unionists in Madrid, our influence in Barcelona is stronger. Next in importance is the construction industry, then textiles. Many of our members are bank workers and teachers.

Q. Are you considering more work among the youth?

A. We are discussing the formation of a Trotskyist youth group, in sympathy with the Fourth International. We

of the economic demands and democratic rights of the people. The fact that the government holds to its antidemocratic policies and continues repressing the people favors the putschist right wing. And if there is a coup it will be because the government paved the way for it.

The experience of history shows that bourgeois governments prefer to be eliminated by another, more reactionary bourgeois government rather than permit the masses to advance and radicalize. But that does not mean we should be sectarian toward people who follow the government and who believe what it says. To such persons we must raise demands that we can achieve together. If these people think that all their problems are caused by infiltrators, then they should help us to win and maintain democratic rights.

March together

Moreover, we must overcome the sectarian stage in the building of fronts—where each party or group wants to impose its program on other groups and wants to maintain a ruinous hegemony over the front. It is much more correct to begin with two or three points. For example, the CCP is now raising the demand for a general amnesty—that is, freedom for the political and social prisoners; the rehiring of those fired; and trial courts. All of us who are in agreement with these three points should march together.

It is better to raise what we have in common and not try to get everyone to hold the same positions, since this will end up with the creation of as many fronts as there are parties. This does not mean there will be no ideological debate and political clarity. The CCP is carrying out united-front actions in an unsectarian way and I hope it will continue to do so. The unity of all forces will arise from these initial points to encompass other points, insofar as the dynamic of the struggle pushes the front onward.

With regard to the Frente de Defensa de la Revolución,⁵ it seems to me to be an organization to defend the positions of the government en bloc—as much against its rightist enemies as against the masses. If, for example, the FDR were for the defense of the 200 miles,⁶ or for things that had been nationalized not being returned, or for the haciendas not being returned to the big landowners, it seems to me that my party should be in that front. But that is not the case. To enter the FDR you have to be in agreement even with the tanks that attacked Querecotillo, with the entire policy of the government in general.

5. FDR—Front for the Defense of the Revolution.

6. The 200-mile territorial limit.

are planning a conference soon and the discussion about this will start soon. Of major importance will be exactly how to organize a youth group. Other points we shall discuss will be tactics for building our party as part of the international. The debate taking place in the international now is very important to us; we have recognized the need for the Fourth International since our formation in 1971.

In closing I should like to say that in January and February there are going to be some vital struggles, especially in Madrid, Barcelona, and Euzkadi—probably strikes on economic and political issues. This is a guess, but I think I'll be proved right.

...Spain

Continued from page 21

A general strike was called for December 12 by the *comités de curso* [course committees]. These groups include all the political activists in a particular faculty.

Q. Where is the *Liga Comunista* located?

PAUL ROBESON: THE REAL TRAGEDY



By Frank Lovell

The great Afro-American singer and actor Paul Robeson died at the age of seventy-seven on January 23 in Philadelphia. He lived in seclusion with his sister during the final years of his life, suffering the ailments of old age.

In his active and creative years Robeson excelled as a college athlete, scholar, stage and screen actor, and concert singer. He also became a political activist, seeking to identify himself with oppressed Black people everywhere and with the working class.

As an artist, Robeson won international acclaim.

As a defiant Black man, he won the hatred of the ruling class in this country.

From his earliest memories, Robeson was never allowed to forget that he was Black and unwelcome in white society, despite his superior abilities and talents.

During the Black cultural awakening of the 1920s—the Harlem Renaissance—Robeson began his long and illustrious career as actor and concert soloist. He performed in Eugene O'Neill's early plays and sang Negro spirituals. He was an immediate critical success. But the social climate in the 1920s was so hostile to Blacks in the performing arts that Robeson, like many others in those days, left in 1927 for England. He won greater acceptance there and enjoyed more freedom to practice and develop his art. In the 1930s he was acclaimed throughout England and Europe as one of the world's great theatrical artists.

At the height of his career Robeson was deeply affected by the social and political movements that rocked the world. The economic collapse of the capitalist system, the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, and the triumph of Hitler in Germany in 1933 all profoundly shaped his life. Robeson turned to socialism for answers.

Ugly face of racism

In Nazi Germany he saw the ugly face of racism unveiled and unashamed, the same features he had seen half-hidden in democratic America.

In those days the Soviet Union meant socialism to millions of people in all countries, including many of the most talented artists and writers. Robeson visited the Soviet Union in 1934 as an honored guest. He and his family were shielded from the seamy side of the bureaucratic regime. What they saw they liked. And like others of that generation—including Picasso, André Gide, Alfredo Siqueiros, Diego Rivera, Theodore Dreiser, and hundreds more of similar stature and renown—Robeson was drawn into the Stalinist political milieu. Some of them soon discovered the hideous character of Stalinism and refused to be used by the Soviet bureaucracy for its selfish political schemes. Others did not.

Robeson was anxious to lend whatever help he could to the fight against fascism. In 1938 he went to Spain and sang for the loyalist brigades fighting Franco, hoping to inspire the troops and bolster the morale of the antifascist fighters who were then on the brink of defeat. Little did he know that the popular-front policy of Stalinism, the Soviet détente of that day with the imperialist powers, had paved the way for Franco's victory.

During World War II Robeson was back in this country, but by then he was trapped in the vice of Stalinist politics. From the start of the war in

September 1939 when Stalin and Hitler were bound together in their mutual-aid nonaggression pact until the day in June 1941 when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the American Stalinists denounced the U.S. government as imperialist and tried to prevent its entry into the war. So did Robeson.

But as soon as Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the American Communist party stopped denouncing the U.S. government and started demanding that it enter the war to "defeat fascism." The CP opposed strikes as unpatriotic and called on Black people to subordinate or postpone their struggles for equality until after the war. So did Robeson.

March on Washington

It adds nothing to the stature of Paul Robeson to lie about his political misdeeds, as the weekly *Guardian* does in its February 4 issue. In a panegyric to Robeson's tragic political past, the *Guardian* reports, "During the war years, Robeson consistently supported the struggles of Black people for their rights. He called upon his people to disregard those who were saying that Black people should accept the status quo in behalf of national unity during the war."

There is not a shred of evidence to substantiate this. The CP, in its self-serving praise of Robeson, makes no such claim because for the present it prefers to forget that chapter of its own sordid past.

The truth can be seen by examining Robeson's attitude toward the March on Washington movement, organized and led by A. Philip Randolph. That was the movement against Jim Crow in the war industries and in the army that forced the Roosevelt administration to make concessions to Blacks for the first time since Reconstruction. It was the most powerful and popular movement of Black people during World War II, the only one until the rise of the civil rights movement a decade later.

The Communist party opposed the March on Washington movement. The Stalinists wanted Roosevelt to crush it for hindering the U.S. war effort. Robeson neither endorsed nor supported the March on Washington movement.

Supports imperialist war

During the war Robeson sang patriotic ballads to promote the war effort. He helped to sell war bonds to finance the war, but he did not lift his voice or make a single gesture to aid Blacks fighting for their rights during World War II. And although he was associated with groups favoring the freedom of colonies in Africa and Asia, Robeson—following his CP mentors—went along with the Stalinists, who in those war years opposed struggles for independence in the colonies of the "democratic" imperialists with whom Stalin was allied.

Paul Robeson's greatest triumph during the war years was his unforgettable role as Othello in the Shakespearean play in 1943-44.

After the victory of U.S. imperialism in World War II, the American ruling class undertook to police the war-torn world, to extend its rule over China, and to cordon off the Soviet Union for future attack. The long period of the cold war set in.

The Communist party of the United States came under direct attack, its leaders indicted under the infamous Smith Act on charges of subversion and conspiracy just as the leaders of the Socialist

Workers party had been indicted under the same act at the beginning of World War II. The Stalinists had cheered the wartime imprisonment of the SWP leaders, but when their turn came they complained of a mistake by the Justice Department, claiming that they were patriots and that the thought-control Smith Act was intended only for Trotskyists. They sought to organize a defense committee for themselves but not for others.

An organization called "Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights," sponsored by the Stalinists and supported by a broad spectrum of civil libertarians, was launched in New York, July 16-17, 1949. At that time James Kutcher, the legless veteran who had been fired from his job and had his pension revoked for his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers party, was seeking help against the government. He attended the conference. In his book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, Kutcher tells what happened.

"A battle took place in the resolutions committee, which ended in the majority of that committee voting for a resolution introduced by Prof. Emerson, calling for support of the rights of members of my party as well as those of the Communist Party. But the Stalinists had a mechanical majority of the conference and they rammed through their own line after a hot debate (in which Paul Robeson, defending the Stalinist position, demagogically demanded: 'Would you ask the Negroes to give freedom of speech to the KKK? Would you give civil rights to Jefferson Davis?')."

Stalinist defense policy

In this way, by following the Stalinists in their slanders and frame-ups, Robeson undercut his own efforts to defend his civil liberties and those of the Stalinists. Wedded to their narrow, sectarian defense policy (civil liberties for me and my friends but not for others), Robeson was prevented by the logic of that position from organizing the broadest possible support when the witch-hunters went after him.

In 1950 Robeson's passport was revoked and was not restored until 1958. During those years he was blacklisted, barred from theater, screen, and concert hall. Held like a prisoner under house arrest and deprived of the right to travel abroad, he was robbed of the mass audience his artistry deserved. It was a loss to the world of music and drama.

During those eight years Robeson was defiant, never bowing to the dictates of the white ruling class in this country. This was the good side of his character, the real side that most accurately reveals the real Paul Robeson.

He was potentially one of the great popular anticapitalist leaders of his time. But miseducated and disoriented by Stalinism, he never realized most of that potential. Although he had a natural and instinctive affinity for Black nationalism, he suppressed it. Beguiled by Stalinist politics, he responded to every twist and turn of Kremlin diplomacy, not to the needs of Black people.

Thus, before he became ill, Robeson never spoke or raised his voice in defense of Malcolm X or the Black Muslims when they were simultaneously under attack from Washington and the Communist party.

In life Paul Robeson was like the tragic Othello. Stalinism was his Iago.

TROTSKY'S WRITINGS (1929):

By Tim Wohlforth
From *Intercontinental Press*

The issuing of this volume marks an important stage in the most ambitious publication project of the writings of Trotsky undertaken since the Soviet Union abandoned its complete works of Trotsky under Stalin's pressure in 1927. This volume actually marks the first of the series, which covers Trotsky's writings during his last exile (1929-40). Now the whole series is available, although three volumes remain to be republished in a new format and with expanded contents.

This means that students of Trotsky can now read the series in chronological order, tracing the development of Trotsky's policies on important world events as well as the development of the internal struggle to construct the Fourth International. Therefore the

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929). Edited by George Breitman and Sarah Lovell. New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1975. 461 pp. \$13, cloth; \$3.95, paperback.

new volume facilitates study, and for those who have already read some of the volumes, restudy, of Trotsky's eleven-year battle to establish the political basis and to assemble the initial cadres for the Fourth International, the continuity of Bolshevism and of Marxism itself.

One of the great advantages of the series lies in its chronological organization. Because of this we find combined into single volumes Trotsky's writings on a number of different countries with some of his writings on the problems of constructing the Fourth International under the particular world situation of the time. Thus we see a picture not just of Trotsky, the great thinker, or the brilliant analyst of world events, but most of all of Trotsky the *party man*, who assessed each development in the world situation from the point of view of constructing a new leadership of the working class dedicated to the sole purpose of establishing socialism worldwide.

Difficult Years

The circumstances facing Trotsky during the year of this volume, 1929, were perhaps among the most difficult he ever encountered. Between 1923 and 1928 Trotsky fought for revolutionary policies as a tendency within the Russian Communist party.

Suddenly he was forcibly removed from Russia and transported to Turkey, a country whose language he did not know. He was cut off from old-time collaborators within the USSR, and just when he was beginning to develop relations with collaborators in other countries.

At the same time, the world political situation was extremely difficult. The working class had suffered a series of major defeats because of Stalin's leadership of the Communist International. The German Communists refused to take the revolutionary initiative in the 1923 crisis provoked by France's invasion of the Saar Basin. Stalin became implicated in the collapse of the great British general strike of 1926 through his alliance with the British reformist trade-union leadership. Then the revolutionary opportunities of the second Chinese revolution were destroyed in the 1926-27 period because of Stalin's policy of subordi-

nating the Chinese Communist party to the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek. All this demoralized the vanguard of the working class and made things extremely difficult for the small band of revolutionists.

On top of all this came the cynical turn made by Stalin in 1928 and 1929. Faced with the open rebellion of the middle and rich peasants and the virtual collapse of the Soviet economy, Stalin suddenly shifted to an ultraleft position, adopted large portions of the program of the Left Opposition, and in a bureaucratic and totalitarian fashion, imposed a super industrialization drive on the country. In foreign policy Stalin shifted to ultraleftist tactics and phraseology. At the same time that he was stealing part of the Left's program and distorting it, he stepped up his police pressure on the Left Opposition.

Nor were the groups that had rallied to the Left Opposition in various countries untouched by the difficulties of the period. These groups were themselves affected by the defeats and demoralization, some broke up into personal cliques, all of them suffered from isolation. In addition, their opposition to Stalin was not in all cases rooted in an alternative struggle for Bolshevism. All may have agreed that Stalin deserved to be criticized, but all did not necessarily agree as to the causes of the degeneration of the USSR, or the alternative Bolshevik program around which to assemble the cadres of the Communist movement.

It is perhaps the greatest testament to Trotsky's revolutionary integrity and his profound understanding of Marxism that this man, who had led millions in the struggle for power in a civil war against the imperialists and their agents, could turn with such understanding and patience to work among the tens and at most hundreds of oppositionists scattered around the globe.

Trotsky held no illusions about the difficulties of the period or the immensity of the tasks he now faced in his Turkish exile.

"We are heading for such difficult times that every cothinker, every *potential* cothinker, is precious to us. . . .

"Mass actions tend as a rule to wash away secondary and episodic disagreements and to aid the fusion of friendly and close tendencies. Conversely, ideological groupings in a period of stagnation or ebb tide disclose a great tendency toward differentiation, splits, and internal struggles. We cannot leap out of the period in which we live. We must pass through it. A clear, precise ideological differentiation is unconditionally necessary. It prepares future successes." (Page 80.)

Conquests of Leninism

Later he states:

"We are passing through a period of colossal reaction, following the revolutionary years (1917-23). On a new and higher historical stage, we, revolutionary Marxists, find ourselves thrown back into a position of a small and persecuted minority, almost as at the beginning of the imperialist war. As all of history demonstrates, beginning, say, with the First International, such regressions are unavoidable. Our advantage over our predecessors lies in the fact that the situation today is more mature and that we ourselves are more 'mature,' for we stand on the shoulders of Marx, Lenin, and many others." (Page 159.)



Trotsky in Prinkipo, 1929, with visiting French Left Opposition members

Trotsky's approach in this difficult period was to base himself on the conquests of the struggle of the Left Opposition over the preceding five years. This in turn was a development of the basic outlook and strategy of the Bolshevik party and the Communist International under Lenin and the experience of the Great October Revolution. He insisted that there were three basic tendencies within Communism: the right, represented by Bukharin; the center, headed by Stalin; and the Left Opposition.

This assessment immediately brought him into conflict with Boris Souvarine, an early supporter of Trotsky's, who now sought to bring about a fusion of the Left Opposition with the right-wing breakaways from the official Communist parties, most notably Brandler's organization in Germany, which was of some size. Souvarine was typical of a kind of intellectual, demoralized by the rise of Stalinism and the various defeats, who caved in to the pressures of the times, running away from the difficult task of constructing actual organizations on the basis of principle. Before the year was out Trotsky would be forced to break definitively with Souvarine. In an open letter, he concluded:

"I am sure that tomorrow you will not be silent. You will pass to the other side of the barricades. Theoretically, you are already there.

"We record a man overboard and pass on to the next point on the agenda." (Page 189.)

A more difficult problem came from another quarter. Trotsky was forced in 1929 to modify his assessment that there existed three main tendencies

within the Communist movement. He noted the existence of a fourth, though minor, tendency, *ultraleftism*. The main ultraleft grouping was the German Leninbund, led by Hugo Urbahns.

The main dispute with the Urbahns group in 1929 centered on a serious Sino-Soviet conflict involving the Manchurian railroad. Trotsky defended the right of the Soviet Union to maintain its control over the railroad and opposed its being ceded to China. He felt that under the concrete conditions existing in China at the time, this would mean that the railroad would fall into the hands of right-wing generals in the North and thus endanger both the Chinese revolution and the defense of the USSR. Urbahns insisted it was simply a formal matter of national self-determination, since the area the railroad passed through was populated by Chinese.

However, the dispute actually reflected deeper differences and in that respect was similar to the dispute that broke out within the American Socialist Workers party and the Fourth International in 1939 over defense of the USSR under the concrete conditions of the Soviet invasion of Finland and Poland. Urbahns claimed that the Thermidor (counterrevolution) in the USSR was complete, that a form of state capitalism had been instituted; and he demanded that the Trotskyist forces act as independent parties rather than as an opposition faction within the Communist International.

Trotsky resisted heavy pressure from his own supporters from 1929 until the victory of Hitler in 1933 to write off the Comintern as unreformable. He saw

EXILE IN PRINKIPO, TURKEY

the Communist International and the Russian Communist party as products of the world's first successful proletarian revolution. Although they were caricatures of Lenin's party, Trotsky insisted on continuing the struggle to win over the ranks to Leninist policies. He carried this out without the slightest conciliation to Stalin and his policies. Only when a great objective event, the historic defeat in Germany of the world's strongest and most politically conscious working class, had taken place did Trotsky abandon this policy and move toward the construction of a fourth international.

Trotsky's principled approach

We can note certain important features of Trotsky's approach to all these political problems in assembling the initial cadres of what was to become the Fourth International. First of all, Trotsky proceeded in a principled and objective manner on the basis of principled programmatic positions developed over a period of time. He did not cave in to passing pressures. He knew that he was laying the programmatic foundations for the future, and that these foundations had to be sound if massive revolutionary movements were eventually to be built upon them.

Secondly, he proceeded at all times as an *internationalist*. He proceeded from an international perspective and not from the peculiarities of individual countries and parties separated from this international perspective.

Thirdly, he was painstakingly patient in his dealings with various oppositionists and potential oppositionists. He corresponded with Souvarine, breaking with him only when such a break was unavoidable. He fought for the Leninbund for over a year, despite the arrogant attitude of the Leninbund's leadership. He understood the objective circumstances causing confusion in the ranks of the oppositionists; and without compromise, but with great objectivity, he fought to the end for each confused individual or group, trying to help them find their way into the ranks of the international opposition. No break was precipitous, or politically unclear. Out of each effort, the small cadre of followers was educated and grew in revolutionary stature.

The period was not without significant small successes, the most important being the development of the Trotskyist forces in France and in the United States. Because of Trotsky's extensive knowledge of France, his involvement as a Comintern representative in the early stages of constructing the French Communist party, and his personal contacts with French Communists, oppositionist activity began earlier in France than elsewhere on the continent. However, at the time Trotsky was sent into exile, the oppositionists were split up. A number of conflicting little groups, whose differences were unclear, formed around different individuals. The groups as a whole were ineffectual.

The major, in many ways historic, break in this situation came with the development of the *La Verité* group through Trotsky's own initiative. This group, consisting primarily of youth, launched a weekly paper as the only way to break out of the impasse and to begin participating in the struggles of workers and reaching the cadres of the CP.

In August 1929 when the weekly *La Verité* was launched, Trotsky greeted it:

"In France the influence of the Opposition is far too slight. This is because there are too many Oppositional groups in France. Many of them are stagnating. From time to time they put out an issue of a magazine containing documents of the international Opposition or episodic articles on isolated questions of French life. The reader forgets the contents of the last issue by the time a new one reaches him. It is indispensable to break out of this situation. It is necessary to supply the masses with correct and systematic Marxist evaluations of all the events of social life. Politics demands the continuity of thought, words, and deeds. That is why politics demands a daily newspaper.

"The Opposition still lacks the resources today to undertake a daily. You are obliged to begin with a weekly. This is already a step forward; provided, of course, you do not stop here but will continue to stubbornly steer—toward a daily." (Page 222.)

American Left Opposition

Just as important was the development of the American Left Opposition, led by James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern. This group was different from most in Europe because its leadership had considerable experience in the American workers movement and concerned itself from the beginning with the serious task of actually constructing a party organization. Its break with the CP had been more recent and the group

was more internally cohesive. It was in this period that Trotsky was able to establish his first contact with the American group and to receive its support in the laborious task of sorting out the various oppositional figures and groups and assembling the serious revolutionary cadres the world over. It was also in this period that the *Militant* was launched as a weekly publication, although it was not able to sustain this schedule until somewhat later.

Trotsky's first public communication with his American supporters is included in this volume. The central points raised by Trotsky then are even more pertinent today.

First of all, he recognized the critical role the American working class was destined to play in the world revolutionary process.

"The work to be achieved by the American Opposition has international historic significance, for in the final analysis all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil. . . . We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the power of American capitalism rests more and more upon the foundation of the world economy, with its contradictions and its crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the start. Hence the conclusion: *it is necessary to prepare.*" (Pages 131-32.)



Cannon, Abern, and Shachtman (left to right), founders of American Left Opposition, established their first direct contact with Trotsky after his expulsion from the Soviet Union.

In his conclusions Trotsky points out two specific areas that require the special attention of American revolutionists: the young workers and the Blacks:

"Every member of the Opposition should be obligated to have under guidance several young workers, youth from fourteen to fifteen years of age and older; to remain in continual contact with them, help them in their education, train them in questions of scientific socialism, and systematically introduce them to the revolutionary politics of the proletarian vanguard. Oppositionists who are themselves unprepared for such work should entrust the young workers they have recruited to more developed and experienced comrades. We don't want those who are afraid of rough work. The profession of a revolutionary Bolshevik imposes obligations. The first of these obligations is to win over the proletarian youth, to clear a road to its most oppressed and neglected strata. They stand first under our banner.

"The trade-union bureaucrats, like the bureaucrats of pseudocommunism, live in an atmosphere of aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of the workers. It would be tragic if the Oppositionists were infected even in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most unprivileged and downtrodden strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negroes, whom capitalist society has converted into pariahs, and who must learn to see in us their brothers. And this depends entirely upon our energy and devotion to this work." (Pages 133-34.)

Still relevant today

In order to get the most value out of a book, it is important to understand it at all times in relation to the present situation we face. Our situation has certain similarities with that faced by Trotsky in 1929. We have passed through a long period of more than twenty-five years dominated by a world capitalist boom, during which the only revolutionary developments were headed by other forces, particularly the Stalinists. It was a period of great difficulty for Trotskyists, great isolation, which produced splits, divisions, disorientation, and desertions much like those Trotsky faced in 1929.

But 1975 is not 1929. We do not face a long period of defeats. Rather it is a *transitional* period characterized by the deepening crisis of capitalism worldwide, the revolutionary explosion in Portugal on the very continent of Europe, and the beginning of important class struggles in the United States as well. We find ourselves still with many of the problems of the past, the divisions, the confusions. We cannot shed all these problems as one does a winter coat in summer. We must confront these problems as patiently and in as principled a manner as Trotsky did in 1929.

We are, however, entering a political summer. Opportunities for development are on all sides. Small forces can grow significantly in this new situation; and old disputes, and new confusions, can be tested quickly in developments in the class itself. There is no better time than now to study the whole history of the Fourth International as part of the necessary equipment to tackle these problems.

Calendar

ATLANTA

BLACK WOMEN SPEAK OUT. A panel discussion on the history and future of Black women in America. Speakers: Portia La Sonde, project director, Multi-Area Rape Crisis Council; Cornelia Edwards, vice-president, junior class, Spelman College; Miesa Patterson, Atlanta Univ. Center YSA. Fri., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

NEW YORK

ANGOLA: THE NEXT VIETNAM? Speaker: Malik Miah, SWP. Fri., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. Columbia University, 501 Schermerhorn (116 St. and Broadway). Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

PITTSBURGH

MALCOLM X. A film. Speakers: Christina Adachi, SWP; and others. Fri., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

IS ZIONISM RACIST? A panel discussion with members of the Organization of Arab Students and YSA. Fri., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

ST. LOUIS

MISSOURI PRISONS: DO WE NEED MORE? Speakers: Bob Mayer, Great Plains Prison Project; DeVerne Calloway, state representative; Frank Chapman, ex-prisoner, Missouri State Penitentiary; Helen Savio, SWP gubernatorial candidate. Fri., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland Ave., Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

TWIN CITIES

ZIONISM AND RACISM. Speakers: Ali Farser, member, Arab-American Club, U. of Minnesota; Ralph Schwartz, SWP. Fri., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...CIA

Continued from page 3
spy-masters.

That was the real purpose of the Pike committee, just like its Senate counterpart headed by Frank Church, and just like the White House-sponsored "investigation" headed by Nelson Rockefeller.

They all aimed to air the minimum information necessary to avoid

charges of a cover-up, and in the process to convince people that such "excesses" were a thing of the past.

But now Ford, the CIA tops, and the majority of Congress all agree that the process has gone far enough. The activities already disclosed are whetting, not appeasing, public demands to know more.

In their view, it is time to stonewall it. Time to wrap the flag around the "intelligence community." Time to rebuff all further inquiries with the terse excuse, "national security."

Above all, it is time to reestablish as a principle that the public has no right to know what the government is up to. That was the fundamental significance of the House vote.

Instead of the truth, the American people are to be offered the panacea of congressional "oversight" of the spy agencies. A closer watch by these Democratic and Republican politicians, it is alleged, will insure against future "abuses" like those in the past.

A CIA memorandum in the House report itself pointed to the real role of such congressional committees. Describing the aid rendered by Senator Jackson, a member of the oversight committee, the 1973 CIA memo said that "in [Jackson's] view the C.I.A. Oversight Committee had the responsibility of protecting the agency in the type of situation that was inherent in the Church subcommittee."

Despite pledges to the contrary from figures like Pike and Church, "protecting the agency" is sure to be the function of whatever new committees Congress finally sets up. In fact, they are intended to give a new aura of legality to the CIA and FBI's covert actions.

This point was underscored recently when former CIA Director Richard Helms endorsed the idea of a congressional "watchdog."

"There were many times when I would have liked to have been able to feel I had more backing," Helms told the Senate Government Operations Committee on January 27.

Testifying before the same committee, FBI chief Clarence Kelley complained that he spends 25 percent of his time preparing for congressional inquiries.

Liberal Republican Lowell Weicker

shot back that Kelley, rather than griping, should welcome and fight for congressional oversight, "because on that depends the survival of your agency."

"The American people are the threat to your agency," Weicker continued. If the confidence of the American people is not restored, "the next time around your agency won't survive."

...Detroit

Continued from page 6
violence and without delay.

Pickers carried signs reading, "Detroit Will Not Be Another Boston" and, "Desegregation Is the Law."

Student coalition spokesperson Sidney Hunter, a senior at Cass Technical High School, explained the purpose of the picket to reporters. Using the example of Cass Tech, a school not under the desegregation plan, Hunter pointed out, "Everybody who goes to Cass Tech takes the bus there. It works smoothly, and it's the best high school education in Detroit."

"In North Carolina I was bused ten miles a day to a Black school and nobody said a thing about it. What we're fighting in Detroit is a racist offensive. We're fighting for Black students' right to an equal education."

"In fact," said Hunter, who is Black, "the issue is not the bus, it's us."

While demanding that the plan be implemented peacefully, both the Detroit NAACP and Detroit SCAR have objected to its token nature. The NAACP has appealed the plan to the federal court of appeals in Cincinnati. Detroit SCAR activists are supporting that appeal as part of their campaign to defend what desegregation the DeMascio plan accomplishes and to broaden it.

...Benford

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Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale have been silent.

"I don't see how Senator Humphrey can be president when a situation like

this exists in this state," said Bill Smith, a Black activist at the rally at the New Way.

Murder and brutality are a constant danger minorities must face here because of the trigger-happy cops who patrol the streets in the Twin Cities area. A thirteen-year-old Black was killed in Minneapolis last summer, sparking a series of hearings on police brutality. An Indian was murdered by a cop last year in West St. Paul. A Black minister told the Minneapolis NAACP last week, "Because of the Minneapolis police, I fear for my life and my wife fears for hers."

...court

Continued from back page

raid the United States Treasury, it would also artificially foster the proliferation of splinter parties."

In fact, it was Nixon's Watergate-era appointees, William Rehnquist and Warren Burger, who dissented from this aspect of the court ruling and took a stronger civil liberties stand. Rehnquist wrote, "I find it impossible to subscribe to the Court's reasoning that because no third party has posed a credible threat to the two major parties in Presidential elections since 1860, Congress may by law attempt to assure that this pattern will endure forever."

Contribution limits of \$1,000 per candidate for each election remained intact under the high court ruling. However, the justices removed all limitations on individual expenditures, independent of a candidate's campaign committee.

These limits, supposedly aimed at reining in the power of "big money," were riddled with loopholes from the beginning. Corporations and wealthy individuals can still funnel millions to the capitalist parties, while parties such as the SWP are even further restricted in tapping their already limited source of funds.

This, in a nutshell, is the essence of the entire Federal Election Campaign Law: a crude attack on democratic rights cloaked behind a facade of "clean government."

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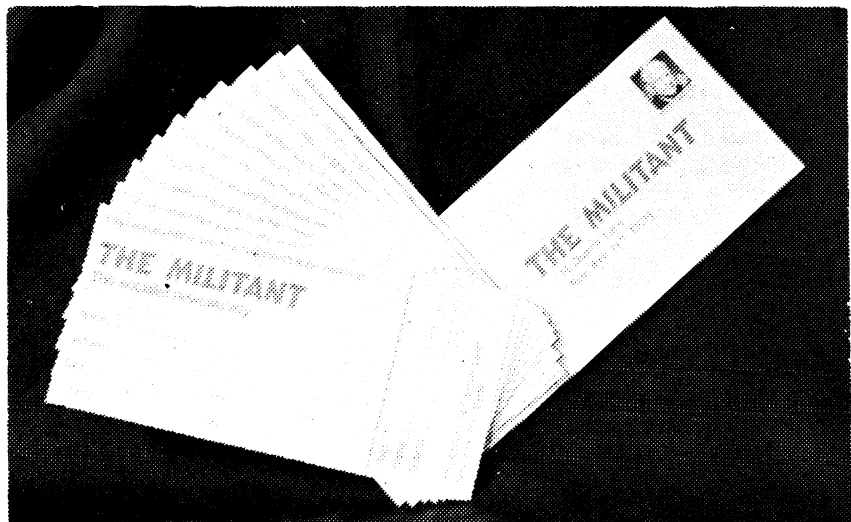
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THE MILITANT

But bends on disclosure

Supreme Court OKs two-party \$\$ rip-off

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—In its ruling handed down January 30, the U.S. Supreme Court gave its stamp of approval to legislation strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties in American politics. At the same time, the court was forced to admit that at least some smaller parties may be justified in refusing to submit lists of their contributors to the government, as currently required by federal law.

The court ruling was handed down in response to a legal challenge to the Federal Election Campaign Act. The suit was filed in January 1975 by a coalition of groups and individuals, including former Sen. Eugene McCarthy, Conservative-Republican Sen. James Buckley, and the New York Civil Liberties Union.

The Federal Election Campaign Act has been trumpeted by Democratic and Republican party politicians, especially liberals, as the solution to Watergate-style corruption in government. With the alleged aim of loosening the grip of "fat cats" on electoral politics, the law included the following provisions:

- federal funding through an income tax checkoff setup of "major party" presidential candidates up to a total of \$30 million, including primary campaigns;
- required disclosure to the government of the name, address, and occupation of every campaign contributor of more than \$100; and

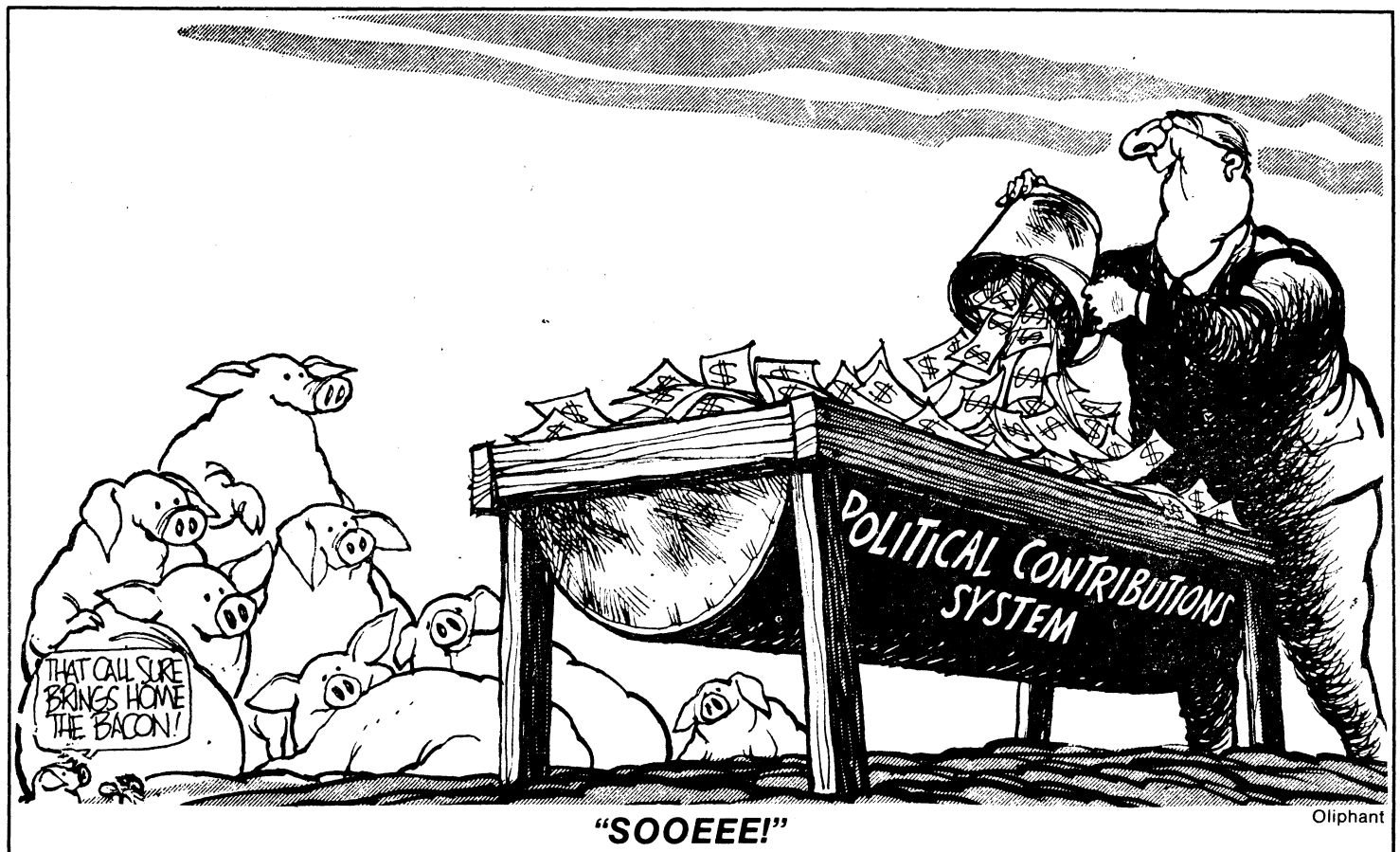
CoDEL challenge

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws is continuing the fight to win exemption for the Socialist Workers campaign committees from the unconstitutional disclosure provisions of the campaign law. The American Civil Liberties Union is handling the case in court and is assuming legal costs.

CoDEL is also involved in challenging undemocratic ballot laws that discriminate against third parties and independent candidates. For more information on CoDEL's activities, or to make a contribution, fill in the coupon below and mail to: CoDEL, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. (212) 255-9229.

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- a ceiling of \$1,000 on individual contributions to presidential candidates.

The Supreme Court refused to strike down the law's disclosure provisions. The justices said that "the substantial public interest in disclosure . . . outweighs the harm generally alleged" in the McCarthy-Buckley suit.

However, the decision stated that other parties or candidates should be exempted from the requirement if they could show that disclosure might lead to harassment of their contributors.

The ruling stated, "Minor parties must be allowed sufficient flexibility in the proof of injury to assure a fair consideration of their claim. The evidence offered need show only a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats, harassment or reprisals from either government officials or private parties."

In wording that clearly applies to the Socialist Workers party, which has been fighting the disclosure provision, the court said, "The proof may include, for example, specific evidence of past or present harassment of members due to their associational ties, or of harassment directed against the organization itself. A pattern of threats or specific manifestations of public hostility may be sufficient."

SWP lawsuit

In 1974 the Socialist Workers party filed a lawsuit challenging federal disclosure requirements. The SWP has collected more than 4,000 pages of previously secret CIA and FBI files that document a systematic campaign

of disruption and harassment aimed at the group and its members and supporters.

Joel Gora, one of the attorneys who argued the McCarthy-Buckley suit before the Supreme Court, told the *Militant*, "Generally, third parties came away with very little. But it did leave the door wide open for the claims in the SWP's suit." Gora, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, is representing the SWP in its legal challenge.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws, which is backing the SWP effort, filed a "friend of the court" brief on the McCarthy-Buckley suit.

Cynthia Burke, CoDEL national secretary, said that her group "will now redouble our efforts to win as much public support as possible in this challenge, which has implications for all parties and individuals involved in electoral activity outside of the Democratic and Republican parties."

Two-party monopoly

The justices upheld the outrageous giveaway of taxpayers' millions to help the two big-business parties, the Democrats and Republicans, maintain their current stranglehold on the election process.

Under the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, only parties that garner 5 percent of the total vote are eligible to receive these public funds.

This requirement, amounting to about four million votes based on 1972 returns, *excludes every smaller party that currently exists*. And Congress can up the required percentage whenever it fears that a potential rival is on the horizon.

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo noted that the Supreme Court ruling came at a time when a majority of voting-age Americans are either registering as independents or staying away from the polls altogether. "Faith in the two capitalist parties has taken a nose dive," Camejo said.

He attributed this to the impact of the Vietnam War, Watergate, revelations of CIA and FBI crimes, and the failure of both parties to offer solutions to mounting prices, high unemployment levels, and racist and sexist discrimination on the job and in the schools.

"The Federal Election Campaign Act was passed by Congress in an attempt to lock these dissident voters into the two-party system," Camejo charged. "The law was designed to discourage working people from breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties to form a labor party, or a Black or Chicano party, to fight for their interests."

Liberals in both parties, who specialize in keeping potential dissidents "inside the flock," were particularly pleased with the law. Sen. Edward Kennedy called it a "useful counterbalance to the forces driving the party system apart and splintering modern politics."

The Supreme Court justices were also quite explicit on this point, especially the "progressive" Kennedy and Johnson appointees. Congress, the ruling said, "was justified in providing both major parties full funding and all other parties only a percentage of the major-party entitlement. Identical treatment of all parties, on the other hand, 'would not only make it easy to

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